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CONGRESS AND THE CURRENCY.

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THE salient fact that the *per capita* amount of currency in this country is, at the present moment, higher than it has ever been, and that it has steadily and regularly advanced during the past six years, shows that in a natural way, very little aided by legislation, the wants of the people for an increase of circulating medium—supposing these wants actually exist—have been met; and they have been met by means that seem to me to promise most for the future adjustment and settlement of this question.

In stating briefly my views upon the subject, I offer no apology for assuming Wall Street, the technical name of the monetary centre of the country, to be the place best equipped for a comprehensive view of the real situation as respects money and currency. Were several persons gathered in a room, some oppressed by heat, others uncomfortable from cold, and a third class pleased with the temperature, the arbiter of these conflicting opinions would be, by general consent, the thermometer. This view of Wall Street as the registering instrument of the financial temperature of the country, though trite and oft repeated, maintains its essential soundness amid all the passionate denunciation of those who

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dissent from its registrations, or whose interests are interfered with by its infallible verdict. Every part of the country, every line of business, every shade of political opinion has its representatives, its reporters, its offices, in that famous street, which is the clearing house of all these diverse interests. When it catches with its acute ear the first note of returning prosperity, after a period of depression and insolvency, it is voted as benign by the hosts who are waiting for its favoring indications. When, on the other hand,—and to-day is a pat illustration—it detects excess, and sees with cool and dispassionate eye the evidences of ill-judged expansion, then it is denounced as malignant, disturbing, and an enemy of the true prosperity of the land. It is sufficient to refer to the record of Wall Street pointings in the past, to sustain the position that this vantage ground for judging the business and monetary field is not and cannot be equalled or excelled.

The prejudices against Wall Street are, of course, most active when the conditions of business are most unsatisfactory. The financial bureau of the nation is commonly supposed to be more pure and wise in the proportion of its lack of intimacy with Wall Street men and magnates. For years it has been the policy of most administrations to select a Secretary of the Treasury from among those who have no Wall Street antecedents; and this sensitiveness has been extended to the point of even making a banking experience rather a disqualification for that high office than a recommendation. With that perverseness in the conduct of the public service which is characteristic of republics, and conspicuously so of the American Republic, the qualification of a man for a great public office, like the Secretaryship of the Treasury, seems to be a total lack of experience in the line of duties for which it calls. The Secretary of the Treasury has had, in many instances, to spend a novitiate in education before he has finally grasped the import of his office, and sometimes this process of schooling has occurred at times of stress when the ripest knowledge of finance was demanded. Then, added to the inexpertness of the Secretary, is the insane dread of the contamination of Wall Street, the spot of all others where may be found the men who can give him the most comprehensive views of a national situation. To select a New York man who has been all his life familiar with the cares of finance, and who does not need a pre-

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liminary training to enable him to grasp the meaning of a million of dollars, would be a conspicuous departure from hide-bound precedent, amounting to political suicide.

I do not feel, then, in any mood to apologize for views upon the currency situation obtained from the focus of these views, the City of New York and its financial centre. It is not to be denied that other centres will arise in the country, whose importance must be admitted in any judgment on the monetary situation, though Chicago seems at the present time to be the only one that need be considered.

The course of the money market, and by this I mean the Wall Street market, does not indicate, and has not indicated during this year, the necessity for an immediate amendment of our currency laws. To repeat, the *per capita* of circulation has grown steadily since the disturbance of 1893--6. Following on the popular verdict on silver rendered in 1896 by the election of Mr. McKinley, the *per capita,* which had declined from $24.44 in 1892 to $21.10 in 1896, began to rise with a regular precision. This increase is so indicative and remarkable that I quote:

1896	$21.10	1900	$26.94
1897	22.49	1901	27.98
1898	24.66	1902	28.43
1899	25.00	1903	29.04

If these figures evinced a tendency to decline, that might well create a disposition to remedy and meet the loss; but with a conceded growth of the country, there is also a natural increase of the money necessary to handle and encourage that growth. A deficiency and decline in currency would assuredly stifle it. The history of the past four years of unparalleled development and activity, does not show any insufficiency of money to facilitate the operation of business. The rates of interest, it is true, have been on a higher scale than for several years preceding the present outburst of activity, but not higher than was to be expected. Activity in business always stimulates activity in money. The changes in loans are more frequent, the search for funds more persistent, and these inquiries naturally result in raising rates. The cause of high rates in money seems to lie in this persistency of borrowers in seeking for money which has already a myriad of applicants for its favor. When money is offered, as it is in a dull market in all businesses, the rates fall; but when it is sought, as

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it has been during the past four or five years, the fact that the rates have not been abnormally high demonstrates, to my mind, the adequacy of the present supply for all legitimate and conservative enterprises and operations, and stamps the demand for asset currency as unnecessary.

In the perfectly proper liquidation which we have witnessed this year, and which has been conducted on lines of the highest ability and financial strength, the question of money has played but a small part in the drama. At no time has the supply been insufficient; at no time have the rates been exacting or high. The perfectly natural recession from a high and inflated situation has been accomplished with a dignity and an exhibition of inherent strength in marked contrast to any other panic which has preceded it. Assuming the use of the word "panic" for such a rectification of financial frontiers to be correct, then the panic of 1903 has been the best behaved of any of our business cyclones, evincing, as it has done, the growing soundness of American methods, and an approach to that ideal conservatism which works towards a correction of excesses and over-trading,—and this in a deliberate and businesslike way, unaccompanied by the rapid and destructive declines that have hitherto marked our readjustments. It would, perhaps, be a little premature to assume that Clearing House certificates have had their day, but certainly the success of recent methods of retrenchment would seem to prove the adequacy of our increased wealth and resources to correct all overgrowths and disproportionate developments. I do not recede from an always strong opinion as to the perfect adaptability of the Clearing House certificates to the needs of the hour; but it would seem as if we had now grown strong enough to meet emergencies in another way, by what might be called the substitution of the homeopathic for the allopathic treatment.

The events of 1903 are an object lesson in currency matters that, to my mind, stamps asset currency as something not to be desired by the conservative, because tending, if adopted, to create an era of inflation from which dignified retirement would be impossible, and to invite a financial collapse.

If the present basis of national bank currency could be maintained and the present volume assured, nothing better could be asked. A national debt is a national blessing when it becomes the basis of a currency so confidently relied upon by the people as that

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issued by the national banks. A reduction of taxation sufficient to prevent a further reduction of the national debt is, in my judgment, less objectionable than the elimination of the debt as a money basis, with the forced substitution of other and less satisfactory securities. Once open the door for new standards, and you will not be able to close it until some unwelcome visitors have gained admittance.

It has not escaped attention that the people themselves are taking a hand in currency expansion, to an extent with which bankers more than any other class are familiar. The changes in banking methods are very numerous, and, as the American custom is, they are carried to extravagance and extremes. I refer to the immense increase in bank accounts, and the enormous use of checks as a substitute for currency. In other days, not very remote, the keeping of a bank account was counted an indication of importance not to be unrespected. It was largely confined to business men and firms. In the past few years the increase in the number of individual accounts, of those of women and even minors, has been very great, and still goes on with accelerated rapidity. The use of checks is very large, the amounts are often ridiculously small. Whereas a few years ago a man blushed at drawing a check below twenty-five dollars, the complacency with which these domestic bills of exchange are issued for sums less than five dollars, and even for one dollar, is staggering to the banker accustomed to the old-fashioned regard for propriety in the use of the bank check. Nevertheless, this new habit means a substantial and, I believe, an unsuspected addition to our volume of currency. A five dollar check does the work of a five dollar bill, and becomes an issue of circulating medium. The whole people are engaged in issuing this small style of currency all over the land, and the natural increase of a custom so useful, although from a banker's standpoint so onerous, is sure to meet the want for more currency, which those in a larger field are anxious to provide for by an act for asset currency.

While, then, I have no favorable disposition toward such an act, believing that natural additions to the circulating medium by the coinage of gold and the general co-operation of the check-drawing public will be sufficient to meet our needs, one very important defect in our financial system undoubtedly demands the attention and action of Congress at its approaching session. That

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defect lies in the imperfect methods of the United States Treasury in the receiving and disbursement of public funds.

The only monetary disturbance of the past six years that created any anxiety was the crisis of November, 1902, when the accumulations of public money in the Treasury, arising from large payments of duties and the inadequacy of legal provision for their redistribution among the people through the banks, resulted in congestion that threatened for a time to paralyze business. The exertions of Secretary Shaw, then new in office, to release the necessary funds are familiar to all readers. Also familiar are the ingenious and, as some have asserted, questionable methods he was obliged to employ to accomplish this desirable adjustment of an abnormal situation. The weight of opinion is in favor of Secretary Shaw's prompt action, but that there should exist legal doubts as to its propriety, while its wisdom was so heartily commended, brings us to the one great need of legislation at the approaching session.

The removal of this defect is paramount, and is at this time the only action required. Whatever may be the final form of the Currency Bill to be presented, any action which will make the Treasury of the United States a co-operator with the business man, and which will make the hoarding of money by the Government impossible, should receive the support of the press and the people. If we ship money to the West and South to move the crops, it can and does return to the centre which needs it most; if we load ocean steamers with ingots, there is always a possible way to bring them back; but once the useful coin has entered the United States Treasury, it leaves not only hope behind, but a wondering and anxious business community of American bankers and merchants, the victims of their own governmental machinery. The most that can be hoped for from Congress is the correction of this clumsy system. If we must have elasticity, let us begin with the Treasury, and that, I candidly believe, will be enough for our present necessities.

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THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BANKS.

BY JAMES H. ECKELS, PRESIDENT OF THE COMMERCIAL NATIONAL BANK, CHICAGO, AND FORMERLY COMPTROLLER OF THE UNITED STATES CURRENCY.

THE advocates of a complete reformation of the country's currency system have in their favor the potent fact that almost every one is agreed that the existing system is unsatisfactory, unscientific and out of harmony with any well-ordered financial policy. Those who content themselves with saying that the present system is just as it ought to be, and that any attempt to enact new laws upon the subject would do irreparable damage to the country, are a small minority, who either take counsel of their fears, are wofully ignorant of the subject, or are mere traditionalists. They are only little less a source of weakness to the country than the men in public life who, while admitting that our whole financial laws are out of balance, yet refuse for political reasons to enact legislation which will at least start the Government in a right direction in its financial and currency policy. This latter class have in recent years undertaken to excuse their indifference to the subject by alleging that financiers are at such variance among themselves that it is impossible for a layman, though a statesman and a legislator, to say what ought to be done.

The allegation is not justified as to not a few important phases of the question. There is practically no disagreement as to the need of emasculating, if not wholly abolishing, the Sub-Treasury. Each year makes it more evident that the Sub-Treasury system works out a continuing embarrassment and loss to every class of business undertaking in the country. If it is to be maintained, its power for evil should be reduced to a minimum. This could be accomplished, and preferably so, by such a revision of our revenue laws as would prevent an unwieldy and unnecessary Treasury surplus, or by keeping such revenue, outside of a small work-

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ing balance, on deposit with the commercial banks throughout the country. Upon principle, the Government should not take from the people any more in revenue than is necessary for its proper conduct and the maintenance of its credit. If, however, through enacted statute, it violates this principle, it ought not to add to the harm done thereby by keeping such revenues apart from the daily needs of business life. As carried on to-day, the Government's fiscal policy works a double loss. It deprives the citizen of a part of his legitimate working capital by taking from him an excessive amount through taxation; and, in addition, by hoarding that revenue in the Sub-Treasury, it lessens the ability of the banks to extend to him a credit which would tend to lessen the harmful effects of the evil wrought him in the first instance.

I recognize the fact that we cannot suddenly have enacted sweeping and radical financial legislation without more or less risk of disturbance to the country's business interests. No advocates of financial and currency reform urge that such laws find a place at this time upon the statute-books. They do ask, however, that without further delay a beginning be made, and that that beginning shall be upon right lines; it must be a part of a harmonious whole, which ultimately will give to the country a financial banking and currency system worthy the name.

To this end, I consider of first importance legislation relating to the Sub-Treasury and the making of bank deposits by the Secretary of the Treasury. This legislation we should have at once. There is no good reason why customs receipts should not be deposited with the National Banks, which are under governmental supervision, especially when the hoarding of such receipts takes so much of the life-blood of trade out of the country's commercial arteries. They should be deposited upon terms which comport with the ordinary rules that control in business life. There is nothing unduly sacred in either Federal governmental revenue or Federal governmental deposit. The income gathered by the representatives of the nation ought not to be treated differently from that gathered by the representatives of the State, county, city, or village. The revenues of these latter governments do not go into a strong-box maintained by them, but into the banks of the country, just as do those of the merchant, subject to check, and thus help in the daily business of the people.

It is a curious fact that the Federal Government, which con-

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trols in the most minute degree the National Banks, demonstrates by its acts the least confidence in them. The Government maintains its own safety-deposit vault for the care of its revenues, and uses the banks only in a secondary way. When it does so use them, it insists that its deposit shall be placed on a footing entirely different from that which the bank accords its other depositing customers. In the first instance, it insists that if it use the bank at all a part of the deposits of the merchant, manufacturer and laborer shall be invested in securities which shall be held specifically for its benefit.

Then it imposes a further condition, that the security shall be of its own issue, namely, Government bonds. It must also, under a strict construction of the law, have a specific reserve held against such secured deposit. The application of such rules to each deposit account in a bank would make banking impossible. By the enforcement of these rules it works out a situation of which its own representatives complain, but that complaint is lodged against the bank. In demanding specifically a deposit of Government bonds to secure Government deposits, it creates a demand for these bonds, when it makes any considerable number of depositories, with the result that the price of the bonds is so enhanced, the amount of them being limited, as to make it more profitable for the banks to sell the bonds than to retain them and keep out circulation based on them. These depositories are, as a rule, more numerously created, or the deposits therein increased, at a time when the country's business interests are suffering from financial stringency. The very act designed to relieve the situation defeats its own purpose; for the banks, finding greater profit in the price added to the bonds by the demand suddenly created for them through the Government's action, sell their bonds and retire their circulation.

When this situation arises, the banks are subject to much criticism. There is, at such times, more or less talk of governmental blacklisting, want of patriotism upon the part of the bankers, and kindred characterization. I fail to understand why patriotism should be invoked against a banker who invests his property in selling money and credits for profit, any more than against the merchant or manufacturer who undertakes to dispose of his wares so as to increase rather than diminish his estate.

If bank-note issues are to be based on a deposit of Government

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bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, then Government deposits, if they are to be specifically secured, should be secured by bonds other than Government ones. The Government could avoid the self-created embarrassment to its own efforts of aid by entirely depending upon other high-grade bonds as security for its deposit, thus leaving Government bonds to the banks for circulation purposes only. If this course were not pursued, a plan could be adopted by which no bond security at all should be taken, but the banks be required instead to pay interest on any sums held for the Government. The banks cannot afford both to give Government bond security and pay interest on Government deposits, and they will not. It cannot be expected that banks will be conducted as purely eleemosynary institutions. Their legitimate function is to render aid to the business undertakings of a community for hire. They are organized for the purpose of buying and selling money and credits for a proper compensation, which creates a fund out of which the shareholders are recompensed for the risk incurred in their venturing their capital. To take banks out of the class of profit-seeking undertakings and place them in that of charity-bestowing institutions, would be to make the business an impossible one. This statement applies to whatever they may do, whether it be the selling of bonds when the price warrants their so doing, even though it involves the retirement of circulating bank-notes, or the selling of money and credit to the business man for a fair rate of interest return. The banker does not deserve to be charged with lack of patriotism and threatened with blacklisting because he follows the course pursued in all business. The banker ranks in patriotism with the average man in business, and certainly with the man who holds a political position. He has always had full faith in the integrity of his Government's credit when others doubted, and he has never hesitated about placing his means at its disposal when others were draining its resources.

The remedy for the embarrassed position in which, each recurring year, the business of the country finds itself is not in whining, threatening or talking mere sentiment about a false idea of what constitutes patriotism. It lies in courageously recognizing the defects which are patent and correcting them. A long step in this direction will have been taken when the Government realizes that it is primarily at fault in not carrying on

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its business in accordance with the rules employed, and successfully so, by every large and profitable corporation, to say nothing of the ventures of the individual citizen. It must treat the banks as aids to business, organized for profit, and not as institutions under its control to be hampered by hard and fast rules which repress their usefulness and make them non-responsive to the varying needs of the business world. The Executive officials of the Government and the lawmakers must be brave enough and wise enough to put aside all political considerations, and let it be known by their acts that they realize how essential the bank is in the proper advancing of all business interests. They cannot do this more emphatically than by reversing the position of distrust which their limited use of the banks now indicates, and taking one which places the Government in its banking relations upon exactly the same basis as that of any other corporation's relations to the banks of the country. If the banks as conducted are safe enough to be made the channel through which pass the infinite number of transactions and the enormous wealth of ninety millions of individual citizens in their individual capacity, they are certainly safe enough to transact wisely and well the vastly smaller business of the citizens' government.

A recognition of the pre-eminent position of the bank as a factor in business by making the Government its customer, and the practical elimination of the Sub-Treasury as a disturbing factor, should be followed by legislation which would give proper vitality to the note-issuing function of which it ought to be possessed. It has already been stated that the function of the bank is to sell money and credits to those who need them. The commercial bank which, under proper regulations and control, cannot sell its credit in the form of bank-notes, where that form best answers the purpose of the business to be transacted, fails to discharge properly one of the important objects for which it was created. It is as essential for the economic transfer of property that, in a great many instances, we have the bank-note, as it is that we have the draft and the bill of exchange, or any other instrument of credit designed for this purpose. Our banking laws do not recognize this fact, except in a very limited way. By a statute which is fixed and immovable, the banks can issue these smaller instruments of credit in the form of bank-notes, if they can obtain Government bonds to secure them when issued and

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they feel assured that the price of the same will return a fair profit. They cannot issue a single note with special reference to business needs and conditions, and they do not. The enacted statute fixes in advance what volume of note issue the business needs of the country can have, instead of the business needs of the country fixing the amount from day to day which will meet them. And this statute was placed upon the books forty years ago. To-day's bank-note issue is dependent upon the maintenance of a public bonded debt, a favoritism the banks do not need and do not ask. Its volume depends upon the price of Government bonds, an absurd regulator of what amount of small credit instruments, in the form of notes, a bank shall furnish to the country's changing business requirements. It is hedged about with a controlling statute which permits but three millions of these notes to be retired in any one month, whether or no they are needed in circulation; and there is the added embarrassment which prohibits, until six months have elapsed, the issue of new notes to the banks retiring their circulation, no matter what sudden emergency may have arisen requiring a large volume of notes to be used. The Government not only regulates all these things, but adds to the frequent embarrassment of the situation by issuing its own notes in the form of demand obligations to compete with the National bank-notes.

There is but one way to correct this impotency of beneficial power upon the part of the banks in the exercise of their note-issuing function, and that is to put the banks gradually in possession of the right of issuing notes against their commercial assets. No radical steps should be taken in this direction; but, well safeguarded as to speedy redemption at convenient points, and with a general safety-fund to guarantee redemption immediately upon the failure of any bank, these issues would be as safe as need be in the careful conduct of business. I do not believe in an emergency currency, though it be an asset currency regulated by a very high tax. It is far wiser to give banks the power that will prevent an emergency, than to give them something that is a proclamation that they are in dire straits.

If an unsecured note is safe in an emergency regulated by a five or six per cent. tax, it is safe when no emergency exists without such a tax. I cannot conceive of any bank's taking out circulation and paying a six-per-cent. tax thereon. Such a statute

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would be in effect a statute to prevent, rather than to aid, the issuing of bank-notes. As the bank-note issuing function now stands, it is confessedly inadequate in every phase of its operation. The solution of the difficulties which confront it is in an asset issue. The safety of the notes can be provided for, as can their speedy and sure redemption. Heretofore, banks have not been kept from failing because they have had a bond-secured circulation, but because of wise and conservative management, re-enforced by the confidence reposed in them by the people and the increasing wealth of the country.

The danger of inflation is an exaggerated one. Bank-notes will be issued only when needed, and loaned as safely and conservatively as they are to-day. They will be redeemed much more speedily, for better facilities will be afforded therefor. They will not be put out indiscriminately nor given away free to every passer-by. They will be issued when existing values and business require them, and they will come in when the need that called them into being has passed away. It must not be assumed that, because the managers of a bank are clothed with the right to issue a small instrument of credit in the form of a promise to pay, they will deliberately set about to see how rapidly they can ruin their bank, bring disaster upon the community in which they reside, and dissipate their own accumulations.

In conclusion, I wish to add that the question of financial banking and currency reform is not sectional in its character. Its need is manifest in the West quite as much as in the East, in places where manufacturing is done or agricultural industry pursued, as in Wall Street where stocks based upon the country's greatest undertakings are bought and sold. What the financial centres need, the country at large needs, and *vice versa;* nd the banking and currency system which is inadequate in its operations to meet the requirements of all the varied kinds of business which make up the daily activities of our people, is not the kind we should be content to have for this nation. It is not to the credit of the American people that, through indifference, political fear, or clinging to mere traditionalism, we are willing to undergo the danger of financial disaster which each year at this season threatens, because of our maintaining unchanged a thoroughly wrong note-issuing principle.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

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THE GORDIAN KNOT IN MACEDONIA.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

THE ghastly state of affairs in Macedonia, which has at last fastened the attention of the civilized world, is difficult to understand in the light of the conflicting reports, and yet more difficult to explain. However, it is certain that the area of savage warfare is rapidly increasing and that it is the scene of a warfare only possible to men enslaved by racial hatred and religious fanaticism. To-day, all Southeastern Europe is concerned; to-morrow, so far-reaching are the interests involved, the war may become world-wide. But who at this late day would cast the horoscope of the Eastern Question?

"Why do not the people of Macedonia leave off killing one another and burning each other's houses, and do what's right?" was the complaint made in my hearing a few days ago by a statesman who has made history in the Western World. This inquiry at least is not difficult to answer. The Christian Slavs and the Moslem Turks and the other ethnical flotsam and jetsam to be found in Macedonia are doing, one and all, what they firmly believe to be right. The Christians point to Joshua, the Turks to Mohammed. If they could only be inoculated with the virus of the modern disease of scepticism, and leave off so fervently doing right according to their own consciences, there might be peace in the Balkans, and certainly the population would increase. The present war of extermination which does not permit of description is inspired by the spiritual advisers of the unfortunate contestants, and full warrant for it is to be found in scriptures which are regarded by both sides as Holy Writ.

The present troubles are not new and their causes are far to seek. They all go back to that dark day for Southeastern Europe, some 500 years ago, when, as the epic of the Slav race tells

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us with Homeric beauty, the Sultan Murad and the Ottoman Turks triumphed over King Lazar and his mighty men on the dark field of Kossova—one of the few decisive battle-grounds, and one which can be easily visited to-day by means of Baron Hirsch's circuitous, but civilizing, railway, in the heart of the disturbed vilayets. However, it is only proposed here to take up the Macedonian question from the treaty of San Stefano in 1878, when it entered upon its present phase. In negotiating this treaty, so memorable, although many of its provisions were afterwards nullified, General Ignatieff, who had perhaps done more than any other one man to bring about the Russo-Turkish war, to liberate the little brothers, the Southern Slavs, who had suffered so long and so much at the hands of Turkish tyranny and Moslem fanaticism, secured not only the practical independence of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, which till then had been Turkish provinces, but also the independence and the union of that Greater Bulgaria, (the realization of his political dream), which included not only the provinces mentioned, but those districts of European Turkey known to-day as the Vilayets of Old Servia and of Kossova and something more—territory which to-day is known generally but incorrectly as Macedonia.

There was much to be said in favor of Ignatieff's plan, although, or possibly because, it entailed the practical dismemberment of Turkey in Europe. In the light of subsequent events, it is clear it would have been well for the peace of the world had his plan not been vetoed by Austria and by Great Britain.

As is well known, the negotiations that had taken place at San Stefano between the victorious Russian and the conquered Turk, were reopened at the Congress of the Powers in Berlin, a few months later, with very different results. At San Stefano the Turks were beaten to a standstill, and the invading army was within fifteen miles of that Holy of Holies (throughout the Slav world), the Mosque of St. Sophia. There was no force in sight, upon land at least, to keep the Russians out of Stamboul—nothing to prevent them, if they but persisted, from driving the dervishes out of the shrine, and making it a Christian church again; and this had been one of the most resounding and persistent battle-cries of the War of Liberation. The Turks beaten made every possible concession to save their capital. Those concessions, which had reference to the Macedonian question, were,

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as I have stated, the practical freedom of Bulgaria, under a Christian prince, and the carving out of a Greater Bulgaria from those districts of Turkey which are called, somewhat loosely, Macedonia.

Of course, these changes entailed a complete readjustment of political power and of position in the Balkans, and indeed throughout Southeastern Europe; and it was rather in the light of the political advantages that by them, it was thought, would accrue to Russia, than with a desire for the welfare of the Christians, that these clauses of the San Stefano Treaty were reviewed by the Congress of Berlin. In the months that intervened between the signing of the treaty within sight of Constantinople and the meeting of the Congress of the Powers in Berlin, a great many things had happened; and, what was more important, a great many things which had happened became known, and were appreciated. The most important of these disclosures, in its bearings upon the councils of Europe and the protocols before the Congress, was the knowledge that Russia had been "bled white," to use a Bismarckian expression, in the Turkish war, and that the Great White Tzar, when he presented himself through his representatives at the German capital was, *vis-à-vis* to the coalition of the Western Powers, well-nigh as helpless as the Turks had been at San Stefano. This condition of affairs could have but one result, and Russia was robbed of the fruits of her victory by the influence of Austria and Great Britain. Ignatieff's dream of a Greater Bulgaria came to naught, and the Christian inhabitants of what we call Macedonia were handed over again to the tender mercies of the Turks. Of course, the Padishah promised reforms, and it was stated that the government of the Christians would in the future be so just and equitable as to give no cause for complaint. How impossible it was to carry out this promise should appear even from the short account of the religious and racial conditions prevailing in Macedonia which follows.

The fact is that Macedonia presents a political and administrative problem of the highest order. And, further, so far as I know, no man properly equipped and conversant with the languages, the history and the idiosyncrasies of the peoples of Southeastern Europe has entered upon a study of the many confusing phases of the problem with anything like a dispassionate mind. I feel justified in saying that every description of Macedonia that

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has been written in the last twenty years is either a campaign document, or merely the diary of a journey by some traveller from Western Europe—sometimes, it is true, written without prejudice, but always superficially.

I have spent some months in this perplexing country, have crossed again and again the length and the breadth of it on horseback, the only way one can do so, from Prisrend to Prishtina, and from Scopia to Okrida and Monastir; and I have talked directly or through more or less reliable interpreters with the people of all nationalities and classes, but I would not venture to say where the Slavs or the Greeks or the Roumeliotes or the Albanians are in the majority, or to answer the moot question whether the Slavs who are met with belong to the Bulgarian or to the Servian family of that race, or whether it is for the protection and the blessing of the Patriarch of the Greek Church or of the Exarch of the Bulgarian Church that the Christians are yearning. However, without presuming to speak with authority, some idea may be given of the ethnical odds and ends and of the Church waifs and fragments encountered by the traveller in this distressful country.

There is at least one thing that can be said, without fear of contradiction, of travel in Macedonia. Nowhere else in the world does the polyglot have such an opportunity for drawing upon his resources of language. Within a radius of ten miles you will find as many languages spoken. The traveller you may meet by the way will speak to you in the language he has received from his forefathers, but in no other. Nothing is more remarkable than the tenacity with which all the groups refuse to pollute their lips with the crooked words of their immediate neighbors, with whom it would appear that they have been living on a Kilkenny-cat basis from the beginning of the ages. One of the strangest of your surprises is to learn that all the horse-dealers and jobbers with whom the traveller, and especially the correspondent, must come in daily, and not always pleasant, contact are Spanish Jews, who have been living in this secluded corner of the globe ever since their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. They know a great deal about horses, and are said to be sharper in a horse deal than the Gypsies. If you can make your arrangements with them in the language of Cervantes, a quaint version of which is their household speech, it will delight them greatly, and

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you are apt to get the best horse in the stable. There are also a number of Levantine Italians peddling in the interior, and fishing along the Albanian coast, engaged very much as you find them in the Caribbean and South-American waters. So far as I know, their presence is the only justification for the close attention with which the Italian Government is following the developments in Macedonia, unless it be that the King, Victor Emanuel, by his marriage with the beautiful Montenegrin princess, considers himself thereby involved in the family quarrel of the Slavs.

There are Greeks, of course, both in Macedonia and in Thessaly, though I met by no means so great a number of them as have other travellers, with whose relative impartiality I have been impressed. They are more numerous in the towns than in the country. They have many showy and many charming qualities, but they lack the sturdiness as well as the stolidity of the Bulgarian Slavs, whom they call "oxen" in contempt. It was, in part, to rescue these submerged brethren, that the unhappy people of Greece were driven into the war of 1897. A very large number of the troops that had no difficulty in sending the disorganized Greeks sprinting back to Larissa, especially those in the army of Edhem Pasha, so long the military governor of Macedonia, were recruited in that country, which fact would go to prove to any one but an incorrigible member of the Slav Revolutionary Committees, that there are quite a few Turks, or at least Mohammedans, left in Macedonia, and that their fighting qualities are unimpaired. It cannot be denied, though it is a fact which the Slav agitators do not dwell upon, that the Mohammedan population of the Macedonian vilayets has largely increased during the last twenty years. Some attempt has been made by the Sultan to bring colonists from his Asiatic dominions, but the greater part of the increase is due to the advent of peasants and small farmers from Bulgaria, Roumelia, Bosnia, and the other provinces which have been taken from the Turk. These refugees are generally animated by the most fierce hatred of the Christians with whom they have been living for years in unpleasant proximity, and by whom, it is certain, they have often been treated with great unfairness. The estimate usually given, that four-fifths of the people of Macedonia are Christians, is, perhaps only in view of this recent immigration, considerably exaggerated. Another fraction of the

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Macedonian population is formed by the Roumeliotes, locally Zinzares, of undoubted Latin stock. They speak much the same language as the Roumanians, and they, too, claim descent from the colonies and legions of the Roman Empire that were engulfed by the invading barbarians. They hate both the Slavs and the Turks, impartially betraying each in turn, as serves their purpose best. They look forward to the day when they will come into their own again, and, in the mean time, they turn to Bucharest for light and leading. There they are encouraged in all their trouble-making proclivities; not that it is at all likely that King Charles hopes to claim them as his own on the day of final settlement in the Balkans. Doubtless their agitation is fostered for "trading purposes," and in the end they will be relinquished for people of Roumanian stock nearer to the present confines of the kingdom on the Danube.

When it comes to the larger factors in the war of races, I shall have to speak with greater reserve, the elements of the Macedonian mosaic not admitting of that concise, clean-cut description which is so pleasing to the reader. In the districts of Kossova and of Old Servia, the population is, as to numbers, of Slav origin, to an overwhelming degree. They speak Slav dialects which, in some districts and communities, show the closest relation with Bulgarian as it is spoken in the Principality to-day; while, in other districts, the resemblance to modern Servian is striking. Taking my own personal experiences for the little they are worth, I must say that the great majority of the Christians I met in Macedonia looked like Bulgars, and said they were of Bulgarian stock. In Albania, especially around Jakova, the Arnaut and Moslem Albanian element is very strong. Here they have the upper hand, which, as recent action shows, is a whip-hand over their Christian neighbors, and without foreign intervention they are apt to keep it. With the exception of the Albanians, all of the pieces in the mosaic—the Bulgaro-Slavs, the Serbo-Slavs, the Greeks, and the Roumeliotes—have during the last decade been engaged with all their energies in coddling a national revival or a tribal renaissance. In putting their patriotic designs into execution, they and their backers from abroad seem to have been impressed with the formula of one of our great politicians, which was to "claim everything." Hence the conflicting colored maps and schedules of population, language spoken, and wealth of the

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country, which are unfolded before the intelligent stranger who has come to write up Macedonia. These tables of statistics and picture-writings resemble nothing half so much as the estimated majorities heralded by our campaign prophets, from the opposing camps, before election day. And, unhappily, they, too, suffer from the same structural defect—some of them at least must prove to be incorrect.

These researches into the nationality of the submerged Christian in Macedonia, together with the rivalries of the churches, of the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch, certainly exasperate, if they are not entirely responsible for, the reign of terror which exists. I was standing in the market place of Scopia, with a fervent disciple of Goptchevitch, who had been sent down from Belgrade by the Servian Government that is daily growing more envious of the success of the Bulgarians in reclaiming lost brethren. My enthusiastic friend asked a poor devil who came along, leading a donkey loaded with fagots of wood, what was his nationality. "*Ja sam Bougarin,*" ("I am a Bulgarian,") came the reply, to the anger of the Servian propagandist, who was not to be discouraged, however; and I left him explaining to the simple country lout, how he, the teacher, knew from the way in which the peasant pronounced and inflected his words that he was not a Bulgarian, a belief into which he was born, but in reality a Servian. "Howl with the wolves, or you will be eaten up" is a canny Slav proverb, in which great stock is taken in Macedonia. Tenacious in some ways, these people are weak and pliable in others. Half an hour after he met the propagandist, the wood-peddler was convinced that he and his forebears had been Servians from the beginning of time. Incidents such as these have proved to the Slav Revolutionary Committees, those drawing their resources from Belgrade, as well as those which find their inspiration and their sinews of war in Sophia, what political advantages may accrue from having energetic and persuasive emissaries in the disputed districts. You can apparently make anything you please out of the Macedonian, only he must be caught young.

Achmet Ayoub, the last Marshal of the Turkish Empire, who commanded in Macedonia for many years, took a malicious pleasure in telling a story of the people of a district who were perfectly contented and happy until the propagandists came along, and told them that they were Christians and downtrodden; and I

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am inclined to believe that the old soldier's anecdote was not without some foundation in fact. It is quite probable that, up to the Russian war for the liberation of the Southern Slavs, the people of Macedonia lost no sleep in wondering to what division or subdivision of the great Slav family they belonged. Now, however, they think and talk of but little else. Certainly, in the songs and sagas that are handed down in Macedonia from father to son and from mother to daughter, there survives perhaps an exaggerated idea of the glory and power of the ancient Slav empire, but these memories were formerly cultivated as sentiments, rather than as a platform or a political force. Until the awakening suggestion came from the northern Slavs, who were in the enjoyment of comparative freedom and more or less liberal institutions, it is probable that the Slavs of Macedonia had but little appreciation of how unfortunate their lot was, politically. Of course, they were, and had been for ages, simply the slaves, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, for the Turks. You can tell what their position in the land was, even to-day, by the furtive aspect of their villages, hidden away in the valleys and on the hillsides, inconveniently distant from the highroads, where the Turkish lord and the tax-collector travelled with their robber following. These villages are all alike, the houses made of loose, unmortared stones, piled up one upon another, with many apertures through which the cold wind howls. But the most suggestive thing about these hovels are the doors, which are not much larger than the average entrance to the kennel of a good-sized dog. "Why so small a door?" I inquired. "To keep out the Turkish lord," was the invariable answer.

Quite as many Macedonians as Bulgarians took part in the Emancipation war of 1877, which, they thought, could only end in their liberation from the tyranny of the Turk. Indeed, some irregular troops recruited under Boris Panitza in Macedonia greatly distinguished themselves. The decision of the Berlin Congress, adverse to their claim of independence, or at least autonomy, while a great disappointment, did not crush them, and they immediately began the Revolutionary Propaganda, the results of which are so apparent to-day. Naturally,—in view of its great success in achieving the freedom of Bulgaria in fifteen years, these Revolutionists followed closely the method of Katkoff and the Pan Slavs of Moscow. Young Macedonian boys of

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promise were educated in the Bulgarian schools, or in Russia, and then returned to their homes bound by the most solemn pledges to agitate and to teach their neighbors the Gospel of the Pan-Slav.

The proper relations of the Bulgarian Government with this revolutionary movement have always been most difficult to preserve. On the one hand, to maintain popularity at home, and the affection of the Macedonians, it was necessary to support the Revolution; on the other hand, this support had to be so secret as to escape the vigilance of the Turkish authorities, and of the other Powers interested in the maintenance of peace in the Balkans. This difficult course Stambouloff pursued with marked ability during his premiership,—only Boris Panitza fell a victim to his correct attitude. Panitza never could understand the necessity of caution or diplomatic reserve on the part of the Government, and he was forever making incursions into Macedonia at the most inconvenient moments, until finally Stambouloff had him arrested on the charge of high treason, and, after the most summary trial, he was shot.

We now come to the Albanians, who have been taking such a high hand in the recent disturbances, and who are probably the most irreconcilable and certainly the most formidable element in the situation. They live in large numbers in Albania proper along the sea, and are scattered throughout the western districts of Macedonia. "Where the sword is, there is the faith," said the Albanians centuries ago, when, together with the Pomaks of Rhodope, they were suddenly converted by the hard-fighting Turks to the faith of Mohammed. Like most converts, they are very fanatical. Of the origin of their race we know little, and up to the present no chief has appeared to fan the flame of a national revival, nor a meddlesome Power to recognize in them long lost brothers. They are still awaiting the coming of a second Scander Beg. However, they have proved themselves, particularly in guerilla warfare, the best fighting men the Sultan has in his European dominions. Whenever, as now, the question of making further concessions to the Christian populations is raised, the Albanians have ever, as now, shown themselves to be the most uncompromising of the faithful. To-day, their attitude, which approaches open revolt, is a cause of more grave concern to the Porte than the rising of the Christian communities.

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Only those who are ignorant of the present condition of his empire and of the history of the Turk since the treaty of 1856, when his dominions and power were recognized and guaranteed anew, can question the correctness of the diagnosis made by the doctors in diplomacy who to-day, with averted gaze, are retiring from the bedside, and leaving the Sick Man of Europe in the hands of the military surgeons. In fifty years or rather less, every half-way measure and compromise that the ingenious brain of the West could devise has been applied to help the Turkish Empire, with all its incongruous elements and irreconcilable antagonisms, to masquerade about, if but for a few months longer, as a "going concern." But to-day all agree that the only possible salvation is to be sought in the knife, and many of the invalid's former friends would bear with Christian resignation a fatal termination of the ordeal. Unhappily, there is not anything like the same unanimity in the councils of Christendom as to who should perform the operation and who present the benevolent anæsthetic. Certainly, it can truthfully be said, that not only every honest ameliorative measure has been essayed and proved without benefit by reason of the idiosyncrasies of the exalted patient, but also that the wardrobe of sham and political humbug, out of which so many cunningly contrived makeshifts have been drawn, is at last empty.

And in one more important detail the situation is simplified—there is not a single Government of those concerned that wishes to give the Turk another chance, as they did with such disastrous results in former days of acute crisis. Even Lord Salisbury recanted with the cynical phrase: "We placed our money on the wrong horse." Although the Bulgaro-Slav revolutionists are endeavoring, by fair means and foul, to force the hand of Europe and compel intervention, the Austro-Russian understanding would still seem to be in control of the course of events. This entente, however, it must be admitted, is a very slender safeguard of peace. As the traditional policy of the Muscovite and the *Drang nach Osten* of the Hapsburg are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable, the understanding can survive only as long as its sphere of action is confined to paper reforms and mere palliatives. Perhaps it will produce some more Christian Vice-Governors, the ludicrous *Moavins* whose acquiescence in every suggestion that came from Stamboul earned for them all the de-

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risive epithet of "yes-men." It may be taken as axiomatic, without crediting all the news or one-half of it whether from Christian or Turkish sources, that to-day, wherever the Turkish power predominates, the Christians are being massacred, men, women, and children, and that, where the Christians are strongest, the medallion of slaughter is merely reversed. But, with three hundred and fifty thousand Turkish troops in the province, the places where the Christians can maintain the upper hand must be few and far between.

It is still urged by some who draw back from the surgical treatment of the Gordian knot, that a cessation of anarchy and a relief, however temporary, might be brought about by a joint occupation of the disturbed provinces by Austro-Russian forces. Such an occupation might be possible, though it would strain possibility well-nigh to the breaking point, were it not for the Albanians. It is as sure as anything can be which has not already taken place, that they would not acquiesce in this arrangement. They would themselves resist invasion, and by their influence in the Sultan's palace, where for many years the free Albanians have been his most trusted guards, they might induce the Commander of the Faithful to throw down the gage of battle. And the logic of events would be on their side. The joint occupation of the Macedonian vilayets would mean, sooner or later, but inevitably, the disruption of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and possibly in Asia as well. The chances of the Turks in battle are very considerable, as all military critics are aware; and they are considerably heightened by the fact, which no one will dispute, that the Austro-Russian understanding would be dissolved at the first hostile shot. Another vital concession to the Christians might cost Abdul Hamid his throne, and be the signal for the disintegration of his empire, while a Holy War might consolidate it. It is generally recognized that the Turkish army, as a fighting machine, has become a very important factor in any settlement of the Eastern Question. It should not be forgotten for a moment that something like three-quarters of the annual expenditure of the Turkish Government has of recent years been for the purchase of arms and munitions of war. The world stood amazed at the untutored valor of the soldiers and the genius of the leaders who defended the Shipka passes and the trenches about Plevna. For twenty years, Von der Goltz Pasha and other

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distinguished German officers have been at work in developing the Turks' remarkable natural aptitude for things military—with what success Bulgaria, who is being pushed into the ring by her agitators and politicians, aided by what is apparently the inevitable course of events, may shortly furnish an object-lesson.

To-day the question is, and the answer is still hidden in the future, Who will prove the Alexander to this Gordian knot? With one accord the Slavs of Southeastern Europe turn to the Emperor Nicholas, the grandson of Alexander, the Emancipator of serfs and the Liberator of the Bulgarians. "Salvator!" they cry, in the quaint phraseology of their liturgies, as they acclaim him alone worthy to bear the Cross in the war with the Turks. And though the peace-loving Czar hesitates and his advisers point to the splendid ingratitude that was the sole guerdon of their last crusade, and also to the embarrassing situation in the Far East of Asia, there is a force in Russia before which if fully exerted the Great White Czar needs must bend, and that is the sentiment of Pan-Slavism and the feeling of solidarity with those from whom in the darker ages the Russians received their Scriptures and their saints. The Holy War may not only come at the call of the chief priest of Islam and the fanatical *softas* of Stamboul; John of Cronstadt, or some other fervid priest of the north, may proclaim a crusade, to save what is left of the Christian congregation at Philippi to whom St. Paul preached, and to safeguard the Christian churches in Macedonia which sent St. Cyril and Methodius to carry the hope of salvation to Russia.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

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SOME CO-OPERATING CAUSES OF NEGRO LYNCHING.

BY HENDERSON M. SOMERVILLE, FORMERLY ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF ALABAMA.

COLUMNS have been written on the subject of lynching, by all sorts of people, expressing a variety of conflicting views.

The recent letter of President Roosevelt to Governor Durbin, of Indiana, alludes to the peculiarly hideous form so often taken by mob violence when colored men are its victims, "on which occasion," the writer observes, "the mob seem to lay most weight not on the crime, but on the color of the criminal."

No one can successfully justify the practice of lynching either white or black men. Yet the practice is one which varies, in the viciousness and barbarity of its features, according to the character of the crime to be expiated and the mode of its expiation. Hanging and shooting are bad enough; but burning, torture and mutilation are inexcusable, barbarous and without the shadow of apology. The sentiment of the best men in the South, including that of ex-slaveholders, is outspoken in denunciation of the practice, as shown constantly in executive messages, addresses before bar associations, journalistic essays, and sermons in the pulpits. The letter of the President will accomplish much in supporting this growing public sentiment upholding "the majesty of the law."

Why, then, it may be inquired, is this species of mob law so frequently resorted to, whether in Texas or Vermont, Alabama or Indiana, Mississippi or Illinois, Georgia or Delaware, South Carolina or New Jersey, or, as recently, in the distant State of Washington.

The celebrated Vigilance Committees of California, which in 1849 took the law into their own hands, trying, convicting and

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executing many alleged criminals, were mere lynching mobs. So were the citizens of New Orleans, who rose in their wrath a few years ago and, for self-protection, stamped out the nefarious clan known as the Italian Mafia, by hanging its prominent promoters, after a jury had failed, from sheer cowardice, to convict and consign them to the gallows. Still less justifiable, perhaps, was the action of the white mob which, in Colonial days, burned and hanged a score or more of black men in the streets of New York city, under the alleged suspicion of a smouldering insurrection, which the calmer judgment of historians now condemns as having been entirely unfounded. Apologies have been offered for these violations of law, which, even if insufficient, deserve serious attention.

These were instances of volcanic and passionate outbursts of large communities, approximately whole peoples, who, as observed by Edmund Burke in reference to the American revolutionists, could not be made the subjects of criminal indictment. In this respect they differ from the smaller mobs which are now accustomed to rescue criminals from the custody of sheriffs and summarily lynch them. It is interesting to inquire impartially as to the co-operating factors which have led to this alarming evil. The writer has given close study to this subject during a professional and judicial career in the State of Alabama of some thirty years, and has noted some facts to which little attention seems to have been paid in the controversial discussions of the press.

It is true that most of the lynchings in the South have been of negroes, and a partisan press has sought to pervert this fact to the political and moral disadvantage of that section, without making allowance for the vast black population of the Southern States, reported by the last census to be about 8,000,000. The recent lynchings and persecution of negroes in several of the Northern and Western States, however, show human nature to be quite similar in all sections, when under the same provocation or excitement.

A plausible apology often urged for these anarchistic procedures is the tardiness of the law in bringing criminals to justice. This is caused by too infrequent terms of the trial courts, and the legal duty imposed on the higher courts of reversing convictions for technical errors of law, either in the admission of illegal evidence or in giving improper charges to the juries at the

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nisi prius trials. A popular distrust is thus created of the established machinery of criminal procedure. These defects are capable of being remedied, as was recently proved in Alabama. The new constitution adopted in that State two years ago, and the legislation carrying it into effect, have produced a decided improvement in this particular. The Governor is authorized to call special terms for the speedy trial of criminals, including lynchers, and to summarily remove sheriffs from office for negligent failure to afford protection to defendants in their custody. The result is, that there have recently been few, if any, cases of mob violence in that State, and public opinion is rapidly crystallizing in favor of a more vigorous maintenance of law and order. Governor Jelks, in a message to the Alabama Legislature, a few days ago, calls attention to the gratifying fact that only one instance of mob violence had occurred in that State during the past year.

There are other co-operating causes, however, productive of these popular outbreaks, of greater potency than mere procrastination in the administration of justice by the courts. Among these we cannot ignore the existence of racial differences and prejudices which are as indelible as the mark of Cain or the ancient curse of Ham. This force has asserted itself the world over, in bloody massacres, as of the Chinese in California, and of the Jews in Russia and Bulgaria. It is known that the Ethiopians were accustomed to paint the devil white. Stanley, the African explorer, narrates that his negro guide in a certain journey removed himself to the windward side of his white employer, giving as an excuse that the negroes of Africa objected to the odor of the white man's person. So-called "coon songs" are no less popular in New York and Chicago than in New Orleans and Charleston. The white men in our navy are protesting against being made to mess with the blacks. The name of no colored person has ever appeared in the roster of the so-called "Four Hundred"; nor do we hear of the color line being ignored at the "grand balls" of society. This prejudice, deemed by many to be unreasonable, is a force that must be reckoned with, nevertheless, in the solution of all race problems. It cannot be annihilated or destroyed by the device of legislative enactments. It may be measurably modified in due course of time, by the invocation of reason, the advance of education, the cultivation of

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a sense of justice, and an appeal to the light of Heaven afforded by the Beatitudes.

It has been long observed that the crime for which most of these lynchings occur in the South is the forcible violation of white women by negroes, or attempts to perpetrate this most diabolical of all crimes. There are only some six or eight States in which this offence is made legally punishable by death; and Alabama is one of these. It is a curious fact that few or no crimes of this character occur in those portions of the South which are known as the Black Belt, where the negro population numerically predominates in a large ratio. In these sections, the negro vote has been eliminated as a controlling political factor, such as it was in the dark era of reconstruction and carpet-bag rule. This is admitted to have been an illegal and corrupt procedure; nevertheless, it is often justified as the only alternative to the self-expatriation and coerced abandonment of their homes by the impoverished Southerners who had lost all but their honor in the lottery of a civil war. They felt that the wholesale enfranchisement of the ignorant and servile negro, by the enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, had been accomplished by partisan politicians as a vindictive act of punishment for attempted secession. It had been urged by Charles Sumner as a device to elevate the emancipated slaves in all respects to a level in the State with their former masters. The empty forms of law, imposed by conquering bayonets, could not thus be permitted to drive the landowners from their homes as refugees, in rags and financial ruin, as had so often happened in Europe to the unfortunate Jews. Hence the drastic relief sought by the South in the recent introduction of educational and property qualifications for the right of suffrage in various State constitutions; which the impartial historians of the future will fully vindicate as an attempt to rescue Southern civilization from the peril of a ruinous fate and from the barbarism of a mistaken political policy.

It has often been stated that no such crimes were perpetrated during the era of slavery, not even during the Civil War, when the white women of the cotton States were left comparatively unprotected. The localities where these heinous crimes occur are, almost invariably, those in which the negro holds the balance of political power, or where his unsuppressed vote is honestly counted and

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ardently solicited as of value in doubtful contests between political parties or warring factions of the same party. In such instances, as a voter he is coddled, petted and magnified, and his exercise of the right of suffrage becomes a vendible article, leading to the corruption not only of the ballot, but equally of the public morals. The close and impartial observer will find a verification of this view in the political exaltation of the negro contingent in the States of Indiana and Illinois, and other States where they hold the balance of power in all elections between the two leading political parties of this country. Political equality breeds ambition for social equality, with its train of evils which no one can understand or fully appreciate who has not lived in the midst of these unfortunate derelicts of Fate and of Nature. The negro thus asserts himself, and his sense of his own importance, which was quiescent and pacific so long as he was kept in political and social subordination, becomes often offensively and insolently inflated.

The disturbing effect of President Roosevelt's attitude toward the negro can never be adequately estimated, in its retardation of the solution of the race problem which is staggering American statesmanship. The appointment of the negro Crum as Collector of Customs at the port of Charleston, in opposition to the known sentiment even of the Republican Senate, and other like Presidential policies, produced great excitement in the South, and reopened the wounds of race prejudices which were gradually being allayed. These issues were made paramount in the recent Democratic primaries in the State of Mississippi, where a most exciting election was held. The result was the nomination of a candidate for Governor who avowedly tolerated negro lynching and strenuously opposed the policy of negro education. As the New York *Sun* well said: "This means a deeper barbarism for the Mississippi negroes, a greater danger for the Mississippi whites." The over-zealous friends of the negro thus become practically his worst enemies.

No such lamentable reaction has yet shown itself in Alabama or any of the other Southern States, except through the criticisms of the press.

Yet, in defiance of these facts, some crude and fanatical views emanate from the pulpit, the press, and the hustings of the Northern and Western States. For example, a Chicago critic of Booker

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T. Washington, whom every white man in Alabama esteems, asserts that many lynchings are to be laid at the door of this great benefactor of his race, because he "teaches the colored people that they are only fit for menial positions"—in other words, because he thinks his race can be more useful grubbing at the roots of corn and cotton than at the roots of irregular Greek verbs, or are better fitted to follow the respectable trade known to have been the vocation of Joseph, the genealogical father of Christ, than to learn to scan the Odes of Horace and the Georgics of Virgil. Centuries ago it was an essential part of the education of every Jewish lad to learn some useful trade. Those theorists who persistently combat the idea that the average negro is best fitted for industrial education and manual labor, are not only warring against the decrees of Nature, but are retarding the black man's advancement on the only path along which his talents, dwarfed by centuries of slavery, afford him any light of hope. Such views are founded no less in ignorance than in fanaticism, and may be discarded as absurd. Of like character, but more culpable, was the riotous interference with the recent address of Booker T. Washington at Boston, which was deliberately and maliciously engineered by certain negro fanatics, who have since, fortunately, been brought to the bar of justice, and properly punished by the courts of that State which was the first of American commonwealths to announce in its Constitution that her people founded "a government of laws and not of men."

There is no offence in the dark calendar of crimes more deserving of death than rape. An American missionary asserts that, even among the inhabitants of Africa, it is punished by inconceivable methods of torture. Its diabolism is aggravated by the relative inequality, in refinement and social status, of a brutal perpetrator and a cultivated victim. In comparison with it the act of murder would be righteousness.

While there is strictly no legal or moral excuse for not letting the law take its course in cases of this kind, there is one phase of the matter commonly overlooked, which mitigates, if it fails to excuse, this practice of summary punishment. This is the terror of the ordeal through which a modest and virtuous woman must pass in being subjected to examination as a witness on the stand, in detailing the humiliating incidents attending the perpetration of the atrocious crime. In the Southern courts, by uninterrupted

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custom, justice is administered publicly in the presence of large crowds of persons who are in attendance at the trial. The better practice, in such cases, would no doubt be to clear the court-room of all persons except the presiding judge, the litigants, the jurors, witnesses, and members of the Bar; but custom has never sanctioned this course in the Southern States. I once witnessed in an Alabama court the trial of a negro boy nineteen years old for assault on a modest little girl of eight years. Her examination excited the painful sympathy of every one present, and while legally necessary it was pitiful and cruel. The defendant was brought to speedy and condign punishment, without the assistance of a mob.

There are scores of cases where the mob's course of action is induced by this consideration as the chief and inspiring motive. It is here suggested by a Southern-born man, as an apology often urged by his people for a practice which he does not seek to justify. It must be admitted by every intelligent citizen that mob violence, in every form, which treads under its ruthless and bloody feet the law of the land, for the maintenance of which all just governments are instituted, is a species of anarchy, which assassinates its victims and "stabs the law." It is equally condemned by the stern voice of the Decalogue and the gentler teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. In its ultimate solution, however, the "diamond pen of history" must treat this exciting subject in a non-partisan and unsectional spirit. "*Audi alteram partem*" is the true voice of reason in all discussion.

HENDERSON M. SOMERVILLE.

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THE VICE OF READING.

BY EDITH WHARTON.

THAT "diffusion of knowledge" commonly classed with steam-heat and universal suffrage in the category of modern improvements, has incidentally brought about the production of a new vice—the vice of reading.

No vices are so hard to eradicate as those which are popularly regarded as virtues. Among these the vice of reading is foremost. That reading trash is a vice is generally conceded; but reading *per se*—the habit of reading—new as it is, already ranks with such seasoned virtues as thrift, sobriety, early rising and regular exercise. There is, indeed, something peculiarly aggressive in the virtuousness of the sense-of-duty reader. By those who have kept to the humble paths of precept he is revered as following a counsel of perfection. "I wish I had kept up my reading as you have," the unlettered novice declares to this adept in the supererogatory; and the reader, accustomed to the incense of uncritical applause, not unnaturally looks on his occupation as a noteworthy intellectual achievement.

Reading deliberately undertaken—what may be called volitional reading—is no more reading than erudition is culture. Real reading is reflex action; the born reader reads as unconsciously as he breathes; and, to carry the analogy a degree farther, reading is no more a virtue than breathing. Just in proportion as it is considered meritorious does it become unprofitable. What is reading, in the last analysis, but an interchange of thought between writer and reader? If the book enters the reader's mind just as it left the writer's—without any of the additions and modifications inevitably produced by contact with a new body of thought—it has been read to no purpose. In such cases, of course, the reader is not always to blame. There are books that

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are always the same—incapable of modifying or of being modified—but these do not count as factors in literature. The value of books is proportionate to what may be called their plasticity—their quality of being all things to all men, of being diversely moulded by the impact of fresh forms of thought. Where, from one cause or the other, this reciprocal adaptability is lacking, there can be no real intercourse between book and reader. In this sense it may be said that there is no abstract standard of values in literature: the greatest books ever written are worth to each reader only what he can get out of them. The best books are those from which the best readers have been able to extract the greatest amount of thought of the highest quality; but it is generally from these books that the poor reader gets least.

To be a poor reader may therefore be considered a misfortune; but it is certainly not a fault. Why should we all be readers? We are not all expected to be musicians; but read we must; and so those that cannot read creatively read mechanically—as though a man who had no aptitude for the violin were to regard the grinding of a barrel-organ as an equivalent accomplishment! It must be understood at the outset that, in the matter of reading, the real offenders are not those who restrict themselves to recognized trash. There is little harm in the self-confessed devourer of foolish fiction. He who feasts upon "the novel of the day" does not seriously impede the development of literature. The cast of mind which discerns in the natural divisions of the melon an indication that it is meant to be eaten *en famille,* might even look upon certain works—the penny-in-the-slot or touch-the-button books, which require no effort beyond turning the pages and using one's eyes—as especially designed for the consumption of the mechanical reader. Providence turns out an unfailing supply of authors whose obvious mission it is thus to protect literature from the ravages of the unintelligent; and it is only when he strays from his predestined pastures that the mechanical reader becomes a danger to the body of letters. The idea that reading is a moral quality has unhappily led many conscientious persons to renounce their innocuous dalliance with light literature for more strenuous intercourse. These are the persons who "make it a rule to read." The "platform" of the more ambitious actually includes the large resolve to keep up with all that is being written! The desire to keep up is apparently the

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strongest incentive to this class of readers: they seem to regard literature as a cable-car that can be "boarded" only by running; while many a born reader may be found unblushingly loitering in the tea-cup times of stage-coach and posting-chaise, without so much as being aware of the new means of locomotion.

It is when the mechanical reader, armed with this high conception of his duty, invades the domain of letters—discusses, criticises, condemns, or, worse still, praises—that the vice of reading becomes a menace to literature. Even so, it might seem in questionable taste to resent an intrusion prompted by motives so respectable, were it not that the incorrigible self-sufficiency of the mechanical reader makes him a fair object of attack. The man who grinds the barrel-organ does not challenge comparison with Paderewski, but the mechanical reader never doubts his intellectual competency. As grace gives faith, so zeal for self-improvement is supposed to confer brains.

To read is not a virtue; but to read well is an art, and an art that only the born reader can acquire. The gift of reading is no exception to the rule that all natural gifts need to be cultivated by practice and discipline; but unless the innate aptitude exist the training will be wasted. It is the delusion of the mechanical reader to think that intentions may take the place of aptitude.

So far is this from being the case that there are certain generic signs by which the born reader detects his manufactured copy under whatever guise the latter may assume. One of these idiosyncrasies is the habit of regarding reading objectively. The mechanical reader, as he always reads consciously, knows exactly how much he reads, and will tell you so with the pride of the careful housekeeper who has calculated to within half an ounce the daily consumption of food in her household. As the housekeeper is apt to go to market every day at a certain hour, so the mechanical reader has often a fixed time for laying in his intellectual stores; and not infrequently he reads for just so many hours a day. The statement in one of Hamerton's youthful diaries—"I shall now commence a course of poetical reading, beginning with 50 hours of Chaucer, and as I gave him 1½ last night it leaves me exactly 48½"—is a good example of this kind of reading. It follows that he who reads by time often "has no time to read"; a plight unknown to the born reader, whose reading forms a continuous undercurrent to all his other occupations.

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The mechanical reader is the slave of his book-mark: if he lose his place he is under the irksome necessity of beginning again at the beginning; and a story is told of one such reader whom a flippant relative kept for a year at "Fire and Sword in the Soudan" by the unfeeling stratagem of shifting the marker every night. The born reader is his own book-mark. He instinctively remembers at what stage in the argument he laid his book down, and the pages open of themselves at the point for which he is looking. It is due to the mechanical reader to say that he is uniformly scrupulous in the performance of his task: it is one of his rules *never to skip a word,* and he can always meet with a triumphant affirmative Dr. Johnson's immortal "Do *you* read books *through?*" This inexorable principle is doubtless based on the fact that the mechanical reader is incapable of discerning intuitively whether a book is worth reading or not. In fact, until he has read the last line of a book he is unable to form any opinion of it; nor can he give any adequate reasons for his opinion when formed. Viewing all books from the outside, and having no point of contact with the author's mind, he makes no allowances for temperament or environment; for that process of transposition and selection that makes the most impersonal book the product of unique conditions.

It is obvious that the mechanical reader, taking each book separately as an entity suspended in the inane, must miss all the by-paths and cross-cuts of his subject. He is like a tourist who drives from one "sight" to another without looking at anything that is not set down in Baedeker. Of the delights of intellectual vagrancy, of the improvised chase after a fleeting allusion, suggested sometimes by the turn of a phrase or by the mere complexion of a word, he is serenely unaware. With him the book's the thing: the idea of using it as the keynote of unpremeditated harmonies, as the gateway into some *paysage choisi* of the spirit, is beyond his ken.

The mechanical reader considers it his duty to read every book that is talked about; a duty rendered less onerous by the fact that he can judge beforehand, from the material dimensions of each book, how much space it will take up in his head: there is no need to allow for expansion. To the mechanical reader, books once read are not like growing things that strike root and intertwine branches, but like fossils ticketed and put away in the

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drawers of a geologist's cabinet; or rather, like prisoners condemned to lifelong solitary confinement. In such a mind the books never talk to each other.

The course of the mechanical reader is guided by the *vox populi*. He makes straight for the book that is being talked about, and his sense of its importance is in proportion to the number of editions exhausted before publication, since he has no means of distinguishing between the different classes of books talked about, nor between the voices that do the talking.

It is a part of the whole duty of the mechanical reader to pronounce an opinion on every book he reads, and he is sometimes driven to strange shifts in the conscientious performance of this task. It is his nature to mistrust and dislike every book he does not understand. "I cannot read and therefore wish all books burned." In his heart of hearts the mechanical reader may sometimes echo this wish of Envy in Doctor Faustus; but, it being also a part of his duty to be "fond of reading," he is obliged to repress his bibliocidal impulse, and go through the form of trying the case, when lynching would have been so much simpler.

It is only natural that the reader who looks on reading as a moral obligation should confound moral and intellectual judgments. Here is a book that every one is talking about; the number of its editions is an almost unanswerable proof of its merit; but to the mechanical reader it is cryptic, and he takes refuge in disapproval. He admits the cleverness, of course; but one of the characters is "not nice"; *ergo*, the book is not nice; he is surprised that you should have cared to read it. The mechanical reader, after a few such experiments, learns the potency of disapproval as a critical weapon, and it soon becomes his chief defence against the irritating demand to admire what he cannot understand. Sometimes his disapprobation is tempered by philosophic concessions to human laxity: as in the case of the lady who could not approve of Balzac's novels, but was of course willing to admit that "they were written in the most beautiful French." A fine instance of this temperate disapproval is furnished by Mrs. Barbauld's verdict upon The Ancient Mariner: she "pronounced it improbable."

The obligation of expressing an opinion on every book which is being talked about has led to the reprehensible but natural habit of borrowing opinions. Any one who frequents a group of

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mechanical readers soon becomes accustomed to their socialistic use of certain formulas, and to the rapid process of erosion and distortion undergone by much-borrowed opinions. There have been known persons heartless enough to find pleasure in taking the mechanical reader unawares with the demand for an opinion; and it must be owned that the result sometimes justifies the theory that no sports are so diverting as those which are seasoned with cruelty. In such extremities, the expedients resorted to by mechanical readers often do justice to their inventiveness; as when a lady, on being suddenly asked what she thought of "*Quo Vadis*," replied that she had no fault to find with the book except that "nothing happened in it."

Thus far the subject has dealt only with what may be called the average mechanical reader: a designation embracing the immense majority of book-consumers. There is, however, another and more striking type of mechanical reader—he who, wearying of the Philistine diversion of "understanding the obvious," boldly threads his way "amid the bitterness of things occult." Transcendentalism owes much of its perennial popularity to a reverence for the unintelligible, and its disciples are largely recruited from the class of readers who consider it as great an intellectual feat to read a book as to understand it. But these votaries of the esoteric are too few in number to be harmful. It is the average mechanical reader who really endangers the integrity of letters; this may seem a curious charge to bring against that voracious majority. How can those who create the demand for the hundredth thousand be accused of malice toward letters?

In that acute character-study, "Manœuvring," Miss Edgeworth says of one of her characters: "Her mind had never been overwhelmed by a torrent of wasteful learning. That the stream of literature had passed over it was apparent only from its fertility." There could hardly be a happier description of those who read intuitively; and its antithesis as fitly portrays the mechanical reader. His mind is devastated by that torrent of wasteful learning which his demands have helped to swell. It is probable that if no one read but those who know how to read, none would produce books but those who know how to write; but it is the least offence of the mechanical reader to have encouraged the mechanical author. The two were made for each other and may prey on one another with impunity.

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The harmfulness of the mechanical reader is fourfold. In the first place, by bringing about the demand for mediocre writing, he facilitates the career of the mediocre author. The crime of luring creative talent into the ranks of mechanical production is in fact the gravest offence of the mechanical reader.

Secondly, by his passion for "popular" renderings of abstruse and difficult subjects, by confounding the hastiest *réchauffé* of scientific truisms with the slowly-matured conceptions of the original thinker, he retards true culture and lessens the possible amount of really abiding work.

The habit of confusing moral and intellectual judgments is the third cause of his harmfulness to literature. The inadequacy of "art for art's sake" as a literary creed has long been conceded. It is not by requiring that the imaginative writer shall be touched "to fine issues" that the mechanical reader interferes with the production of masterpieces, but by his own inability to discern the "fine issues" of any book, however great, which presents some incidental stumbling-block to his vision. To those who regard literature as a criticism of life, nothing is more puzzling than this incapacity to distinguish between the general tendency of a book—its technical and imaginative value as a whole—and its merely episodical features. That the mechanical reader should confound the unmoral with the immoral is perhaps natural; he may be pardoned for an erroneous classification of such books as "*La Chartreuse de Parme*" or the "Life of Benvenuto Cellini"; his harmfulness to literature lies in his persistent ignorance of the fact that any serious portrayal of life must be judged not by the incidents it presents but by the author's sense of their significance. The harmful book is the trivial book: it depends on the writer, and not on the subject, whether the contemplation of life results in Faust or Faublas. To gauge the absence of this perception in the average reader, one must turn to the ordinary "improper" book of current English and American fiction. In these works, enjoyed under protest, with the plea that they are "unpleasant, but so powerful," one sees the reflection of the image which the great portrayals of life leave on the minds of the mechanical reader and his novelist. There is the collocation of "painful" incidents; but the rest, being unperceived, is left out.

Finally, the mechanical reader, by his demand for peptonized

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literature, and his inability to distinguish between the means and the end, has misdirected the tendencies of criticism, or rather, has produced a creature in his own image—the mechanical critic. The London correspondent of a New York paper recently quoted "a well-known English reviewer" as saying that people no longer had time to read critical analyses of books—that what they wanted was a *résumé* of the contents. It is of course an open question (and one hardly within the scope of this argument) how much literature is benefited by criticism; but to speak as though the analysis of a book were one kind of criticism and the cataloguing of its contents another, is a manifest absurdity. The born reader may or may not wish to hear what the critics have to say of a book; but if he cares for any criticism he wants the only kind worthy of the name—an analysis of subject and manner. He who has no time for such criticism will certainly spare none to the summing-up of the contents of a book: an inventory of its incidents, ending up with the conventional "But we will not spoil the reader's enjoyment by revealing, etc." It is the mechanical reader who demands such inventories and calls them criticisms; and it is because the mechanical reader is in the majority that the mechanical plot-extractor is fast superseding the critic. Whether real criticism be of service to literature or not, it is clear that this pseudo-reviewing is harmful, since it places books of very different qualities on the same dead level of mediocrity, by ignoring their true purport and significance. It is impossible to give an idea of the value of any book, except perhaps a detective-story, by the recapitulation of its contents; and even those qualities which differentiate the good from the bad detective-story lie not so much in the collocation of incidents as in the handling of the subject and the choice of means used for producing a given effect. All forms of art are based on the principle of selection, and where that principle is held of no account in the sum-total of any intellectual production, there can be no genuine criticism.

It is thus that the mechanical reader systematically works against the best in literature. Obviously, it is to the writer that he is most harmful. The broad way that leads to his approval is so easy to tread and so thronged with prosperous fellow-travellers that many a young pilgrim has been drawn into it by the mere craving for companionship; and perhaps it is not until the

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journey's end, when he reaches the Palace of Platitudes and sits down to a feast of indiscriminate praise, with the scribblers he has most despised helping themselves unreproved out of the very dish prepared in his honor, that his thoughts turn longingly to that other way—the strait path leading "To The Happy Few."

EDITH WHARTON.

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FLOOD PREVENTION AND IRRIGATION: TWIN IDEAS.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR J. R. BURTON, OF KANSAS.

FLOODS cause annually in this country an enormous loss of life and property. With the denudation of our forest area, the draining of our lands and the aggregation of wealth and population in the territory subject to overflow, the destruction increases.

The floods of the spring of 1903, by far the most disastrous in the history of the West, covered a territory of over 2,000,000 acres; they wiped out property approximating $40,000,000, and took nearly a hundred lives.

In 1901, in the Southern Appalachian region, flood losses reached $10,000,000; in a part of the same territory last spring the destruction amounted to perhaps $10,000,000 more, together with many lives. Frequent floods along the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red River, and other rivers tributary to the Mississippi, not to mention local overflows in every part of the country, have spread disaster and death, while the June inundation of the lower Missouri and Mississippi, with its burden of devastation, is expected with the precision of the changing seasons.

Could the total loss of life and property resulting from these overflows each year be tabulated and published, startling facts would be presented to the American people—especially so when it is remembered that nothing has been done by the states or by the nation with the definite object of flood prevention.

We have done something toward keeping the flood waters of the lower Mississippi within bounds, but we have done nothing anywhere to prevent the gathering of those waters in one mighty, devastating, uncontrollable mass. Have we not begun our work at the wrong place? Instead of trying to control the flood waters of the lower Mississippi, why not prevent the floods? Let us, at

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least, see if we cannot impound these waters for the benefit and use of man, and at the same time take from them their destructive power.

Water in motion is unmanageable. Even in small quantities, while moving, it cuts its way through solid granite; in vast volume, it sweeps to destruction any barrier man has been able to place against it. Still water, on the contrary, is as obedient as a harnessed steed. High up along the tributaries of the streams that drain the continent, where the extended catchment areas collect the rainfall, is the place where the most effective measures may be taken to prevent flood-destruction (for there the excess of water can be conserved, and the flood itself averted); and not where the mighty torrents have swept their terrifying way far toward the sea. This does not mean that we should abandon our artificial embankments along the lower Mississippi; nor that we should cease constructing levees. It may be necessary to go on with that work, for a time, until we have adopted the better plan of getting control of the tributaries and headwaters, by means of dams, reservoirs and cut-offs, in the great catchment areas higher up.

James D. Schuyler, an eminent hydraulic engineer in the Government service, in an exhaustive report on the problem of water storage in Southern California, says:

"There is a peculiar interest attached to the storage reservoir and distributing system which derives its supply from a torrential stream, as it is a creation of something of permanent value out of that which would not only be otherwise wasted and lost, but frequently would cause havoc and destruction of property in the act of going to waste. As its name implies, the torrential stream is one of violent force and action during certain intermittent periods of its career, and its power and capacity for destruction everywhere need to be curbed. Not the least useful of the functions of the impounding reservoir, therefore, is that of lessening the destructive force of the torrent upon which it is situated. Every possible encouragement needs to be afforded for such enterprises."

In a recent statement, Dr. J. F. Thompson, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, an irrigation engineer of international renown, who in making a tour of the world visited this country especially to study its irrigation systems, said he was astonished to find that no effort is being made in this country to control the floods of the Mississippi and

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Missouri rivers, and make their surplus waters a blessing, instead of a means of spreading destruction and ruin. And he continued:

"I see no reason why American engineers should not devise some means for conserving the surplus waters of the great rivers of their country. That the flood waters of rivers may be controlled by means of such reservoirs there can be no manner of doubt whatever; the only question of importance to be considered being one of ways and means."

The method advocated by Dr. Thompson has been employed with success by Australian and East-Indian engineers; and, quite recently, a report from Cairo indicates that all the benefits expected from the great dam at Assouan have been realized. This marvellous feat of engineering, under the direction of Mr. Webb, the director-general, has made a reservoir that gathers the waters during the winter for summer consumption, and has served the double purpose of preventing floods and vastly increasing the acreage of farm lands in lower Egypt.

Already, far-sighted men, who have had experience in irrigation in this country, begin to realize that water-rights and privileges depending upon reservoirs are far more secure than those depending upon the open ditch; and, hence, many of the older ditch companies are establishing systems of reservoirs, for the double purpose of securing the flood waters, and of making it more certain that the water can be had for use during the drought season.

Fiercely destructive are waters in flood volume; conserved for the benefits of power and irrigation they are tractable and life-giving. The physical conditions involved, though simple, merit careful study. Floods are due to the inadequacy of channels or rivers to carry the water. Channels are the results of the erosion caused by the ordinary flow of a stream, and floods are not frequent enough to enlarge the passage sufficiently for times of emergency. Before the destruction of the forests in the Mississippi Valley, and before the draining of the lands, floods came less often, and the stream was adequate to carry off the water that reached it in more equable proportion throughout the year.

In the Appalachian region, forests, designed by nature to serve as a great reservoir, have been felled in riotous prodigality, and floods sweep their way where of old they were less frequent and

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less violent. Prevention is feasible only through the preservation of the woodlands which remain and the restitution of those which have been made bare along the slopes and on the apex of that range of mountains.

The difference between what a river will hold and the excess is comparatively small. It is for the storing of this surplus that the reservoirs should be constructed; they would provide for the final few feet which are like the "last straw on the back of the riparian camel."

A practical illustration of the effect of canals and reservoirs in the prevention of floods, was furnished in the upper Arkansas during the very unusual and heavy rains last spring. The precipitation was practically as great in the catchment area of the upper Arkansas as it was in the catchment area of the Kaw; but the extensive canals and reservoirs in the Arkansas, from Pueblo down into Kansas, were sufficient to prevent any destructive flood along the valley of that river. It is also interesting to note that the reservoir system along that valley is in its incipiency, although the canals are sufficient to exhaust the normal flow. Had the upper Kaw Valley had the same number of canals and reservoirs as the upper Arkansas, it is safe to say there would have been little, if any, destruction in the Kaw Valley last spring.

But, suppose it were necessary to build five or ten times as many canals along the Kaw as are now constructed along the Arkansas, and with the canals a complete system of reservoirs, thousands in number, the total cost would be less than the loss of property by last spring's flood, to say nothing of the loss of life.

If it be contended that the levee system is the only way of controlling flood waters, then by all means push the levee system to completion, not alone in the lower Mississippi, but along the Ohio, the Red River, the Arkansas, the Kaw, the Platte, the Missouri, and all other rivers, and in turn their tributaries, and it will be found that the expense in the end will be as great or greater than the cost of impounding the waters in the arid and semi-arid, and even a portion of the rain-belt, districts. This leaves entirely out of the count the ability of the Government to recoup itself by the sale of the waters impounded; though we have already gone far enough, with our experience of irrigation, to realize that every particle of water that can be impounded will meet with a ready sale to the landowners below—and this state-

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ment can apply not alone to the arid and semi-arid districts, but to the rain-belt as well.

More than that: the building of levees on the lower reaches of great rivers does not in any way benefit the country above; whereas the construction of a reservoir system above would not only prosper the headwater area, but would prevent devastation by floods below.

Prevention of floods and irrigation are twin ideas. They should be developed together. The lower country should be protected from overflows, and the upper country should be given the water for irrigation and power. Our energies should be directed along this line.

The work should be done only after the most complete preparation. The entire catchment areas of the rivers should be explored fully, surveys made carefully, the topography of the country understood, the geological conditions examined. The channels should be studied and their carrying capacities gauged, the rainfall accurately measured, the amount of water at its flood fully determined, and the approximate expense of impounding the waters ascertained. Every local physical condition that science and industry can discover should be ascertained before entering upon this work; for if it be practicable to prevent floods and use flood waters for irrigation and power, there is hardly any expense, however great, that the undertaking would not justify.

There has been no complaint on the part of the West concerning the heavy expenditure made to control flood waters in the lower Mississippi. But the time has come when the country higher up should receive its protection as well as the country below. Especially does this claim have merit if, by the impounding of the waters, not only can the destruction below be lessened, but at the same time vast material benefits can be extended to the arid and semi-arid portions of the West.

It must be expected that many mistakes will be made in an effort to impound flood waters, and to stay the ravages caused by them. It is only a few years since the people of this country entered upon an intelligent use of water for irrigation, even in the arid district. And in accomplishing what we have along that line, many errors have been made, and great waste has occurred; but year by year a knowledge of irrigation and the beneficial and economical use of waters is being gained.

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As new truths respecting irrigation were discovered, public sentiment was crystallized at last into law, in the irrigation bill passed by the last Congress. Already, work under that bill is being carried forward, for the purpose of impounding waters in artificial and natural reservoirs.

But all that has been done so far has sprung from a belief and confidence in irrigation, and not for the purpose of the concurrent prevention of floods. If by enlarging this work, beginning it at the foot-hills of the mountains and extending it on down through the plains, through the arid and semi-arid belts, and even farther down to the rain-belt, a vast system of reservoirs along the thousand and one smaller tributaries can be built, based upon these two ideas—prevention of floods and the beneficial use of the waters—the greatest and most practical material benefits may be realized.

The advantages of such an undertaking would not be confined to crop-raising and its attendant industries. Fuel is very scarce and expensive in almost all of the arid and semi-arid districts. There is but little coal, timber, oil or natural gas throughout that entire area. Since the development of electrical science, it has been found that water stored in reservoirs may be converted into power to an extent before unknown. From these reservoirs would come the cheap power so necessary to the development of any section.

Two methods are involved in the modern plan for the control of flood waters: first, the building of dams above the heads of navigation; and, second, the running of water into more or less natural and artificial reservoirs at either bank.

There is a popular delusion that the construction of a reservoir system for the prevention of floods means only the building of dams and the impounding of surplus waters behind artificial embankments. Nothing could be farther from the fact, though the utility of the dam is not a small part of the scheme, when the dam is built on rock foundation, extends from bluff to bluff, is provided with sufficient sluice-ways, and its maintenance is carefully looked after.

Despite the utmost precaution, waters held by artificial embankments ever involve an element of danger. Some of the greatest floods in the history of the nation have come from the breaking of these barriers when the "corroding tooth of time"

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has eaten away the support, as it is certain to do with all man's undertakings. Out on the open plains, far from quarries and with the loose soil for a base and little more than mud for building material, the life of a dam is short. Even in the great pastures of the cattle ranches, where draws are filled behind carefully constructed dams, the spring rains break away from the control and empty the basin upon which dependence has been placed for the summer's water supply. Hence becomes essential the depressed basin, which may be found naturally formed in many places, and may be constructed with little expense in others. With this it is different; the water remains and awaits the call for its use. It can neither be lost nor wasted. It is the stored-up moisture of the clouds kept ready for the need of man. Where nature has not provided the reservoir, it should generally be dug into the earth.

This storage of the surplus and its diversion from the streams to the lands, would tend not alone to prevent floods, but to extend the farm areas in the arid and semi-arid country, and vastly increase the power of the land to retain water. The sponge-area for the preservation of the rain-fall would be increased, lessening the sudden torrents that occur when the precipitation is great upon the unploughed prairies.

During the past ten years, the area of farm land increased by 217,982,000 acres, or thirty-five per cent., far more than in any other decade in the nation's history. Most of this increase occurred in the Western States. All the States and Territories west of the Mississippi, according to the figures given by the Director of the Census, increased their farm land area more than a million acres, excepting only Arizona and Nevada, which will come into the million-acre list by 1910, for there is a steady extension of agricultural operations in these sections. All through the semi-arid belt and on its edge, where the limit of moisture is closely pressed by the plough, the increase is most notable. The Dakotas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Oklahoma, and Texas are the greatest gainers. In each of these sections is irrigation in practical operation; in each is there need of stored water; in each could farms be made more productive if the untimely rains were stored up for the time of need. The next decade will add to the demands on the Western rivers. The irrigation law itself proposes to add to the irrigated land over 15,000,000 acres in that time; and eventually 35,000,000 more acres will

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be artificially watered. There is no indication that the rain-fall is to increase. Will there be water enough to go around if we allow the surplus of the storm times to race away to the ocean, not only without use, but with positive danger to homes and improvements?

It may be objected that the East, which might not see that it would be benefited by the expenditure, would refuse to assist in the enormous undertaking of reservoir-building. The fact is that the East would be helped, not wronged. Its prosperity depends not on its own resources, but on the development of the vast grain-field that lies between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast. When, in the summer of 1901, there was a drought over the corn belt, and the farmers found themselves deprived of a large part of their usual crop of maize, it was not alone the West that suffered. Throughout the nation, in business and financial circles, spread the injury of that crop failure. Banks in Boston, as well as in Butte, were affected. The currency movements were deflected, and it took many months for the financial world to resume its normal course.

The anxiety over a wheat crop is nearly as keen in Wall Street as in Topeka. What a change if there could be kept in reserve so large a supply of stored water as to make the crops sure, and to bring to the market with unfailing regularity the rich fruits of the farmer's toil. There is water enough for use in this manner, if it can be held for use when needed, and not allowed to rush away to the sea.

It is true that the construction, by the Government, of such a comprehensive system of canals and reservoirs, and their maintenance, would add to the already large army of Government employees; and if they should be as active in our politics as are the postmasters, marshals, district attorneys and other Federal office-holders, they might represent a danger worthy of consideration. But it is safe to predict that the kind of employees required for this work would not become offensive in promoting machine politics. Almost anybody will do for a postmaster; but the construction and maintenance of canals and reservoirs, with proper regard for their great service, calls for men especially trained for the work. It would be with them, as it is with the present Government employees who are prosecuting scientific investigation; they would take no active part in partisan politics.

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Again, it may be said that work of this kind is paternalistic in its nature, and that the Government should be overcareful of going into any enterprise that can by any possible means be performed by private capital. The answer to that objection is, that work of this scope can be done only by the national Government. In the first place, it covers too much territory, and will cost too much money, for its successful prosecution by private capital. The field is continental in its extent, and can be covered only by the general Government. In the next place, the interests are so varied, and the ramifications of their influence reach so far into the community life, as to make it necessarily a governmental task.

It seems that nature has invited us to this task. To those unfamiliar with the topography of the plains country, it is not known that, in the arid belt, and even as far east as the 96th meridian, all the way from the British possessions to the Rio Grande, nature has made indentations in the surface of the earth; and a careful survey will probably disclose that the reservoirs have been already largely provided and are merely waiting to receive the rain-fall from in-taking canals.

A scientific study of the country doubtless will confirm this statement, and beckon us on to this great work, just as the buffalo roving over the prairies, when first discovered, told in plain and emphatic language that on the prairies was the natural field for the development of the live-stock industry.

When such eminent engineers as Dr. Thompson, James D. Schuyler, and others of scarcely less note, pronounce so emphatically in favor of the impounding of waters to prevent floods, the attention of the country should be attracted to the subject; for if floods can be prevented they must be prevented. No such destruction and waste can longer be tolerated in this enlightened age, without some comprehensive effort to overcome it.

We spend millions of money each year to protect ourselves against fires. We do practically nothing to protect ourselves against floods.

If the plan suggested be not the best one, if the expense of conserving the waters be too great, then let another remedy be suggested. I claim no originality in suggesting this plan. As stated above, it has been advocated by irrigationists and hydraulic engineers in the past. It has been developed more or less suc-

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cessfully in other parts of the world. In nearly every case that I have been able to discover, it has been the outgrowth of irrigation; yet it is interesting to note that, about forty years ago, Dr. Christopher Graham, of Kentucky, published a plan he had thought out for disposing of the surplus water below St. Louis and Cairo. He did not believe levees furnished the solution for the overflow problem, and he took the ground that depressions could be found in the configuration of the earth into which the flood could be diverted from the rivers by canals. His purpose was the saving of life and property. He had no thought of irrigation. The enlightenment of later years has shown that he taught but a half-truth. The demand for arable lands has not only absorbed the lower river valleys, but has spread to the far tributaries that linger near the mountains; and millions of happy homes are to-day dependent on the bounty of artificially watered fields. The stored waters have now a double value—one of flood prevention, and one of wealth production.

On the western border of Kansas and in eastern Colorado the annual rain-fall is eighteen to nineteen inches. Thirty inches is enough to make a crop. The reservoir systems, carried from the headwaters to the lower levels of the streams, would supply the deficiency.

In the working out of the plan to a finality, it is probable that three great systems would have to be arranged: first, the reservoirs in the mountains and on the lower levels would hold back a portion of the floods; second, the vast net-work of main-line distributing canals, necessary to irrigate the ultimate acreage cultivated, scattered over the wide area, would have a great storage capacity; and third, the earth itself would act as a sponge, which would aid in holding back flood waters.

We are spending millions of money every year on rivers and harbors, millions more on the building of a navy to protect our commerce. We have spent in the last four or five years $500,000,000 in freeing Cuba and establishing our prestige in the Orient; and the better thought of the country sustains Congress in voting the stupendous appropriations for carrying out these enterprises.

We are a martial people, or—to put the proposition more bluntly and perhaps in less captivating form—we are a fighting people.

If our combative energies be directed along peaceful lines, in

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making possible new homes and in adding to the wealth and comfort of the dwellers therein, they are as nobly employed as when exerted on the march or the battle-field. Here is an opportunity to engage the best fighting qualities of our people. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than War."

We have subjugated the Mississippi Valley, developed enormously our agricultural, manufacturing and mining resources; but we have reached a point where there is no frontier. The millions of acres of land now uncultivated, if they are to be utilized, must be irrigated. Other millions of acres in the lowlands, if they are to be safe from destruction must be protected from floods. Man can do nothing either to increase or to decrease the rain-fall; but the earth is his dominion, and, after the water strikes the earth, it is his to direct, harness and control.

If this solution be practicable, it promises greater good than any single form of development undertaken by us as a nation. That it is practicable is believed by the leading scientific engineers who have given the matter careful consideration.

To harness the rain-fall, thereby at once protecting the lowlands from desolating floods, utilizing the waters for the benefit of man and extending the farming area to meet the needs of an ever-growing population, forms a task worthy of the most earnest endeavor of our Government.

J. R. BURTON.

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THE NEW CUNARD STEAMSHIP CONTRACT.

BY EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

On July 30th, 1903, the British Government, through the Admiralty, the Board of Trade and the Postmaster-General, entered into a contract with the Cunard Steamship Company, as important, in its bearings on the peaceful rivalry of nations for supremacy at sea, as was the Transatlantic Merger negotiated last year by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and his colleagues. Indeed, this contract may be regarded as the sequence of the merger and the response to it. The latter was an effort to secure American control of the carrying-trade of the North Atlantic. The purchase of a majority interest in British steamship lines and the management of such lines under the British flag by energetic American financiers and experienced American steamship men are, for the present at least, the only means by which American control of ocean transportation is possible. Indeed, it is the only way, under existing conditions, in which Americans can acquire even a respectable share in the carrying of our own exports and imports by sea. The relations of the two great German steamship lines with the Imperial Government are so intimate, and their development is so necessary a part of the German Emperor's policy, "Our future is on the sea," that the Imperial veto certainly awaited, if it did not actually prevent, any purchase of a controlling interest in those lines by American citizens. The managements of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American lines willingly entered into a "working agreement," or "community of interests," with Americans, but were not willing to sell to them. The relations of the two great French steamship lines for a much longer period have been even closer with the French Government. In fact, the fleets of the Compagnie Gen-

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erale Transatlantique and the Messageries Maritimes, to all practical intents and purposes, have been for years a part of the naval strength of France. Purchase of merchant steamers under the flags of less powerful maritime nations was feasible only to a limited extent, for various reasons which it is unnecessary to enumerate, in view of the fact that so much of the North Atlantic trade is conducted under the three flags named. The building of steamers at home was impracticable, because they cost more here for several reasons than when built abroad, and, once built, it costs more to maintain and operate them.

American acquisition of the control of four of the largest, most modern, most profitable and best equipped British lines of Transatlantic steamers, the White Star, Atlantic Transport, Leyland, and Dominion lines, owning over 100 steamers, aggregating 900,000 tons gross register, was politically more important both to the United States and to the United Kingdom than it was economically. It was regarded with concern by sober-minded Britons, not so much for itself, when all the facts became known, as for what it seemed to foretell. It indicated that accumulated American wealth was beginning to seek outlet for investment on the sea, that it was following the line in which it would encounter the least resistance from governmental regulation or national sentiment, and that this line led into the bulwarks of Great Britain's political and commercial strength, her mercantile marine. That concern prompted the Sheffield speech of Mr. Gerald W. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade, a year ago:

"Englishmen are naturally jealous of everything that affects the British mercantile position and the interests of the British mercantile marine. It is to our mercantile marine that we owe the erection of that great Empire of which the ocean is the highway, and without which the Empire could hardly continue to exist. . . . It is impossible that we should expect that the Americans should be permanently content to remain without a considerable share in the Atlantic trade, nor is it, in my opinion, desirable that they should remain without a considerable share in that trade. But it is desirable that this inevitable development should take place with the least possible friction between the two peoples."

While British sentiment was unanimous in regarding the formation of the International Mercantile Marine Company as an important American advance which must be met in some fashion, in the United States the announcement elicited those irrecon-

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ciled, if not irreconcilable, expressions which it seems to be the fate of American shipping periodically to provoke. Some professed to see in it nothing but a "Wall Street gamble"; to others it appeared an "unpatriotic" refusal to patronize American shipyards; and still others, by occult processes of reasoning, saw in it a scheme "to raid the American Treasury." The promptest and most conservative interpretation of the merger was made on the floor of the Senate. Practically nothing can be added now to these words of the Hon. J. B. Foraker of Ohio:

> "The Congress of the United States, year after year, for twenty years now, having this matter almost constantly under consideration, has failed to come to the rescue of this great industry. As a result of it all, men who can no longer do without ships—men who would want to invest their capital in ships of American build and have the American flag float over them—are driven, in order that they may conserve the great business interests with which they are identified, to go abroad and spend their millions in making purchases of steamship lines from the British, instead of spending their millions in the shipyards of the United States. That is the whole of it."

What Mr. Balfour has characterized as "this inevitable development" may, of course, be retarded by the fluctuations of Wall Street, or by an interruption in the accumulation of wealth in the United States; but, unless Congress shall intervene, that development will doubtless continue for some years through the purchase of British steamers, along the lines followed by Mr. Morgan and his American and British colleagues.

The agreements of the British Government with the Cunard Steamship Company and with the International Mercantile Marine Company, dated July 30 and August 1, 1903, and approved in the House of Commons two weeks later by a vote of 92 to 18, are the attempt of the British authorities to check the "inevitable development" Mr. Balfour foresaw, or at least to give it the form which will least impair British maritime prestige. They are the response of the Government to the overwhelming pressure of British public sentiment for action which would reduce the American project, as declared in the House of Commons, to "utter helplessness." Whether such shall prove the result of the two contracts, whether "the inevitable" has been avoided, of course remains to be determined. The contracts, in any event, are instructive to Americans, as the carefully matured response to the

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most vigorous and formidable effort of Americans in years to engage in the ocean-carrying trade.

Both contracts are to continue in force for twenty years. Thus permanency, an element indispensable when millions of dollars must be invested in types of ships which can be employed only within narrow lanes of ocean trade, is guaranteed by the British Government to the Cunard Company. The duration of the contract, which is practically the lifetime of a steamer, has in itself a money value, which American shipping legislation thus far has almost ignored. German ocean mail contracts are for fifteen years. The length of this new British contract is a sharp deviation from the recent British practice. So long as British superiority on the Atlantic was unquestioned, the authorities were quite satisfied to make contracts with the Cunard and White Star lines for the New York mails and for Admiralty subventions terminable at the end of a year. Now that the "blue ribbon" of the Atlantic flies from German halliards and that the crack White Star liners are operated together with the 20-knot American liners, the same authorities promptly contract with the Cunard line for twenty years, the longest steamship contract now in force, or, so far as recalled, ever ratified by any government. Undoubtedly, this long duration is a "business proposition," and "services to be rendered" are a consideration. Equally true is it, that the governing motive in the contract has been the maintenance of British maritime supremacy by the best available means.

An even wider departure from British practice—indeed, a departure so wide as to constitute nothing less than a partnership for twenty years between the British Government and the Cunard Steamship Company—is found in clause 10 of the contract:

> "10. His Majesty's Government shall advance to the Company a sum equal to the cost to the Company of the two steamships referred to in clause 3 hereof, but not exceeding in any event two million six hundred thousand pounds ($12,636,000) upon the terms and conditions following."

The terms and conditions mentioned are, briefly:

(1) The loan shall be secured on the whole of the Company's assets, including the present fleet, valued at 1,990,559 pounds ($9,674,117);

(2) The charge shall be secured by a trust deed and mortgage on the steamships;

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(3) The loan shall be advanced by installments, as the building of the two steamers progresses;

(4) The loan shall draw interest, not from the dates when the several installments will be paid, but from the dates when the two steamers begin their first trips, and thus begin to earn money. As the building of these two steamers will take fully 26 months, the British Government waives the payment of about $350,000 interest for this period;

(5) The interest, when payable, shall be at the rate of 2¾ per cent. The lowest interest on British steamship debentures is 3½ per cent., secured by the long established Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company. As the Cunard Company, by the closing condition (6), is required apparently to repay the loan in twenty annual installments, beginning one year after the second steamer has begun her first voyage, it thus saves about $950,000 in interest on its loan from the British Government, compared with the terms on which the most firmly established British steamship corporation obtains its loans from the banks.

The two new steamships referred to in clause 3 are therein thus described:

"Two steamships of large size capable of maintaining a minimum average ocean speed of from 24 to 25 knots an hour in moderate weather suitable in all respects to maintain and develope the Company's line between Liverpool and New York or other ports in Great Britain and the United States of America."

Is the £2,600,000 advanced by the British Government ever actually to be repaid by the Cunard Company? In fact, the British Government agrees to contribute to the Cunard line the two finest and fastest steamships which money and engineering skill can build at the present time. The Company agrees to pay the running expenses of these two ships (interest and amortization of first cost having been eliminated), and to make what money it can out of the passenger trade, freed from the two fixed charges mentioned. The Cunard Company does not pay a sixpence to the shipbuilders. Those payments are made by advances from the British Treasury. As soon as the two steamers are in operation, the Government agrees to pay the Cunard Company an annual Admiralty subvention of £150,000, an increase of £130,000 over the present subvention. Simultaneously, the Company agrees to

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repay the British Government, yearly, one-twentieth of £2,600,000 or £130,000. There is no need for the actual exchange of a shilling. The corporation accepts from the Government the ships, while subsidy and "repayment" of loan are merely balanced by the bookkeepers of the two parties. But the interest, amounting on the average to £35,750, must be met every year? The two new steamers, with the "Campania" and "Lucania" or "Umbria," will maintain the weekly mail service from Queenstown to New York, for which the Company is to receive annually £68,000, at least half of which £34,000, may be credited to the two new steamers, thus virtually meeting the average annual interest charges.

To the extent of the two fastest and best steamships which British shipyards can produce in the mean time, the British Government will thus in about two years reinforce its support of the Cunard line. This support, of course, is not without reason. It is in recognition of the recent attitude of the Company, and in expectation of an improved British position on the sea. If any doubt lingers in the mind of any American of the profound impression made on the British public by the American acquisition of British lines, this preamble from a twenty-year contract just made with a Company which almost from the beginning of commercial steam navigation has been under the protection of the British Government, may serve to dispel it:

"And whereas His Majesty's Government is desirous that the Company's lines should be maintained under the British flag and British management, and to the best advantage, and that they should be further improved by the addition of the two contemplated steamships."

Then follow requirements that all the watch officers and engineers and three-fourths of the crew shall be British subjects, requirements not difficult to fill and familiar to Americans, but interesting as the first departure from the British law of 1854 which opened British ships to the seamen of all nations. In May, 1902, the two great German lines modified their charters, so as to restrict membership in their respective directorates and boards of managers to German subjects, residing in German territory. By its new contract, the Cunard line is committed to the ultimate limit of American exclusion, for none but British subjects are entitled to hold directly or in trust a share of its stock.

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The new contract calls for an annual Admiralty subvention of £150,000, of which, as has been shown, £130,000 is for the two new steamers. The balance is merely the continuation, with slight changes, of an agreement respecting other Cunarders, which has been renewed annually for the past sixteen years. The mail pay provided, £68,000, is for the present weekly service from Queenstown to New York, with an increase of four knots speed in two of the four steamers required. The two slower steamers, presumably "Umbria" and "Etruria" to be in time withdrawn, have not been entirely forgotten; for the significant provision is made in the contract for a "new, fast, weekly mid-week service between Great Britain and the United States of America (that is to say, a service performed by vessels of a speed of eighteen knots and upwards per hour.") By this "new" and "fast" service, the Postmaster-General is authorized in time to send mail equal to ten per cent. of the mail despatched by the regular mail line. For this additional service, he and the Company are authorized to agree on "additional payment for the advantage thus obtained." To one 3,000 miles removed from the place where this contract was made, the "advantage obtained" seems to be simply the use of eighteen to twenty-knot Cunarders, instead of twenty to twenty-two-knot American and German liners, to carry the British mails.

Of the contract in its entirety, Mr. Balfour, President of the Board of Trade (corresponding to our new Secretary of Commerce and Labor) has said: "To the principle of paying a subsidy in excess of the remuneration fairly due for the services rendered by any shipping company, the Government is perfectly opposed." Usually, men are opposed to paying more for anything than it is worth. The British Government has agreed to pay to the Cunard Company during twenty years a total of $21,190,000, of which $12,636,000 will be paid outright in less than three years for the two steamers built by the Government and presented to the Company. What are the services for which this "remuneration" is paid?

1. The Admiralty has always at command six merchant cruisers of twenty knots or over. The two built by the Government will each cost as much as a finished battle-ship. In determining whether to build two battle-ships or two twenty-five-knot merchant cruisers, the British Government seems to have

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decided in favor of the latter. It is expensive to maintain the battle-ship, which, except, of course, for gunnery practice, is only potentially a constant contributor to British prestige. The cost of maintaining the merchant cruiser is borne by the Company, while, as a mail-carrier and employer of Naval Reserves, it is steadily in government service. The twenty-five-knot merchant cruiser is a daily contributor to British trade. In war the battle-ship can give and take a hammering; the twenty-five-knot steamer can do the work requiring high speed. The usefulness of the merchant cruiser in war times has been debated by naval authorities everywhere. By this contract, the British authorities have expressed themselves more strongly in its favor than ever before, agreeing with the German and French attitudes.

Although the Government will pay for the two great coming Cunarders, it can obtain them outright for war purposes from the Company only by paying it, as a bonus, ten per cent. above their value at the time of taking them. This ten per cent. is thus an insurance against the disturbance of the Company's regular traffic by the abrupt withdrawal of its best vessels. If the cruisers are temporarily chartered by the Government, it will pay the Company twenty-five shillings a month per gross register ton, which is equivalent to $73 per ton a year. As the Cunard fleet's average annual earnings in prosperous times are $60 a ton, the agreement for Government charter, as well as for acquisition, thus insures the Company against loss through interrupted traffic.

2. The British Post-Office will secure a complete British system for the Transatlantic mails, when the mid-week service is established at additional cost. As the American Post-Office has always been a liberal patron of the Cunard line, judging from the past the line can rely on about $200,000 a year for American east-bound mails, in addition to the $1,060,000 it is to receive from the British Government.

3. The Cunard line is effectually committed against American acquisition. Of the "services rendered," this factor is mentioned first in the contract, and was doubtless the primary motive in the negotiation of this extraordinary document.

The agreement of the British Government with the International Mercantile Marine Association, was made on August 1, 1903, immediately after the signing of the Cunard contract,

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and the two constitute the declaration of British maritime policy toward the only plans at present feasible for the extension of American influence in the ocean-carrying trade. This agreement provides in substance:

(1) The fast White Star mail steamers shall continue to receive their former mail pay and Admiralty subvention;

(2) The British companies in the Association shall continue British, with a British majority in their boards of directors;

(3) No British ship in the Association shall give up its British flag and register, without the consent of the British Government;

(4) All British ships in the Association must carry British officers, and the same proportion of British crews as the Government may require of other similar vessels;

(5) All British ships in the Association are to be at the command of the Admiralty when needed;

(6) Any other British companies acquired hereafter by the Association must agree to the conditions just mentioned.

The agreement may be cancelled if the policy of the Association is injurious to the British mercantile marine or British trade, and all disputes under it are to be determined according to English law by the Lord High Chancellor as the final arbitrator.

The agreement recognizes certain conditions precisely as they exist. Its real meaning lies in the fact that it undertakes to forbid for twenty years any change in those conditions. In this respect, it is a wider deviation from British tradition and practice than those noted in the Cunard contract. Hitherto, any British shipowner has been at liberty to transfer his steamer to the flag and register of any nation willing to grant them. The laws of the United States forbid American registry under such conditions, and, from time to time, the fear, real or feigned, has been expressed here that British influence might secure the repeal of these laws. There need be no longer dread on that score. If at any time Congress, in its wisdom, should desire to admit to American registry any of the British steamers of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and should create conditions permitting commercially the navigation of such steamers under the American flag, the owner would still have to obtain the consent of the President of the British Board of Trade. At the outbreak of our war with Spain, the Government bought from the

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American owners of the British steamship lines now in the Morgan merger, vessels it needed for military purposes. For the next twenty years, the consent of the British Government to the sale must be obtained, should a similar emergency arise. Whether that Government would consent formally to the sale of vessels to the United States to carry on war against a nation with which the British were at peace, can hardly be a question, when the findings of the Alabama Tribunal are recalled. On the other hand, these same steamers, owned by Americans, are by the agreement placed at the command of the British Admiralty in the event of war. In time of peace, they are to carry British officers, and, if required, British crews. All of these conditions apply not only to the British fleets of about 900,000 tons, which Mr. Morgan and his colleagues have already acquired, but they are to apply to any extension of American influence along the same lines. The requirements of the British Government are solely political. They do not interfere with the full earning power of the fleets; indeed, under the conditions imposed, the financial success of the ships is doubtless desired, for it will preserve British maritime prestige.

Necessarily, these two agreements will considerably affect the future shipping legislation of the United States. Their provisions are so numerous and intricate, and the subject is of such limited interest in this country, that some time will elapse before American public opinion expresses itself. Three British departments, Post-Office, Navy, and Commerce and Labor (to adopt the American equivalent of the sometimes misunderstood English term Board of Trade), have recommended and Parliament has approved a proposition, advancing outright $12,600,000 from the British Treasury to build two steamers for the Cunard Company and an annual subsidy of $800,000 to those two steamers to enable that Company to repay the advance with interest. How the Congress of the United States would regard a corresponding proposition is a fruitful theme for conjecture, pending the time when it may actually have to be answered. That time may not be remote. The new Cunarders will doubtless be finished late in 1905. The present contract of the United States Government with the American line will expire in October, 1905. The interesting question will have to be settled about that time, whether or not the United States will definitely withdraw from the North

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Atlantic, except as a War Power. Nearly fifty years ago, we decided to withdraw our mail line. The "improved services," with increased subsidy, of the Cunard line was not the sole cause of the withdrawal of the Collins line or the stoppage of its subsidy in 1857-8. Two great marine disasters to the American company seriously embarrassed it. The new Cunard contract will undoubtedly convince many Americans that again we ought to give up the ocean steamship business, and devote ourselves to farming, and the manufacture of sewing-machines, tin-plates and other industries, for which we have a natural or acquired aptitude. That may be one of the "services rendered" by the new Cunarders. But the contract is equally sure to convince another considerable portion of the American public, that more than ever the United States should make a respectable showing on salt water. Probably swift merchant cruisers are no more useful to Great Britain than to the United States, with its great coast line. No opinion is here expressed as to their usefulness to either nation. That is purely a military question. Undoubtedly, there are just as good national reasons for the United States' maintaining a first-class Transatlantic mail service as for Great Britain's doing so. The mail business might be done for less money, perhaps, if both nations were to turn it over to Germany's naval auxiliary fleets. On the other hand, if the United States is to meet, and not to retire from, the situation, its expenditure must be larger than Great Britain's. The ocean steamship business, in every detail, from planning the ship to sailing it, is done more cheaply by the British than by the Americans. It means almost nothing, for example, to require three-fourths of the crew of a great Cunarder to be British subjects. To require three-fourths of the crew of such an American steamer to be Americans means an additional expense of over $30,000 a year, and our Naval Reserves are in embryo.

Friction is defined as the resistance produced by the rubbing of two bodies against each other. It is, of course, reduced to the minimum when one body has been effectually rubbed out. Under the two master-pieces of British business-statesmanship just considered, the "inevitable development" of American Transatlantic shipping, referred to at Sheffield, may or may not end in "the least possible friction."

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

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WOMAN'S ACTUAL POSITION IN A REPUBLIC—A REJOINDER.

BY MRS. FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY, HONORARY PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

AN article which appeared in these pages in August, entitled "Woman's Inferior Position in a Republic," gave such a gloomy picture of the condition of women in republics that I venture to bring forward a few facts which may serve to keep the sex in America from despair.

In perusing this article I was reminded of the terse statement in Mariette's "Uneven Civilization" respecting Egyptian dynasties: "The greatest obstacle to the establishment of a regular Egyptian chronology is the circumstance that the Egyptians themselves never had any chronology at all." Similarly, it is difficult to compare the political status of women in monarchies and republics, since, so far as general history shows, woman never had any real political position in either.

Mrs. Woolsey, it appears, may be classed among those zealous but timid pilots for women, who, instead of keeping the vessel well in the channel of progress, must needs (because of a trivial list, which could easily be adjusted by balancing facts) run the vessel ashore on shallow ground and call out to all passing vessels that the course is wrong.

History shows that, in the organization of modern civilized governments, no sweeping political concessions have ever been granted to women in any country, monarchical or republican, and it is, therefore, misleading to single out republics and assert that "the Constitution of the United States excludes women from its scope of justice." What monarchy, governmental union, or colony granted women full political rights in 1777? New Zealand does now, but did not at its origin.

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The United States is not behind the Old World in granting political rights to women. On the contrary, it is conceded that the spirit and initiative in the struggle for equal rights came from the United States. Moreover, at the present moment the only places on the round globe where women have the same full, unrestricted political rights as men are four States of this republic—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. Within these States 200,000 women are entitled to vote exactly on the same basis as men, and are eligible to any and all State offices, some of which, indeed, are occupied by women.

Evidently, woman's political equality means to Mrs. Woolsey the inclusion of *some women,* as figureheads, in pageants and government. She prefers the spectacular to the practical. The theatricalism of the monarchy touches her, when the prosaic legislation of the republic escapes even her notice.

The struggle of the century for the recognition of the rights of humanity as against class rule is put aside by Mrs. Woolsey, in her argument, as a feeble and fruitless skirmish. Yet, as a result of this struggle, the twentieth century finds remaining but nine absolute monarchies—the names of most of them being anything but synonymous with progress, the highest civilization, or respect for women. These are Abyssinia, Afghanistan, China, Korea, Morocco, Persia, Russia, Siam, Turkey. The other eighteen or nineteen monarchies are but limited monarchies, which have adopted constitutions securing rights for individuals. The remaining twenty-three or twenty-four governments are republics; the United States leading as the shining example and hope for them all. So, even in monarchies men seem to cherish the belief that in constitutional government rests the hope of better, truer government.

It is further true that the liberation of British women from their historic thraldom, from their domestic serfdom and social and legal inferiorities, is coincidental with the extension and broadening of the suffrage, with the growth of democracy, and with the waning and attenuation of monarchism—in fact, with the Americanization of England.

The first two cases of sex humiliation cited by Mrs. Woolsey in her paper are so purely her personal experiences that they may be passed over without comment.

The third was so exceptional a case as to require supporting

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testimony. "I heard native-born American ladies address a foreign-born committee of a legislature," says Mrs. Woolsey, "to plead for their enfranchisement." Within my knowledge, no foreign-born committee has ever been appointed in State or Federal affairs. That some foreign-born members may have served on the committee mentioned is probable. That a majority even were foreign-born is highly improbable, and it would be desirable to have the date and names of the committee for record.

I deeply sympathize with Mrs. Woolsey in her fourth affront, when she "witnessed a man who had emigrated from Ireland throw a petition, which was presented by American ladies, into a waste-paper basket with the remark, 'Legislators have more important matters to attend to than the affairs of women.'" This frankness was, indeed, rude. The more so as it came from a man born under a monarchical government, which "accords titles to women, names streets in their honor, and erects statues to their memory." Evidently, this Irishman was an exceptional boor, who failed to absorb from his birth-land the general political respect for women which, according to Mrs. Woolsey, a monarchy inspires.

It would appear, from all these cases of grievance put forth in Mrs. Woolsey's article as proofs that women are more important politically in monarchies than in republics, as if the State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States were largely composed of negroes and foreign-born citizens. As a matter of fact, in the present Congress there is not one colored man, and the proportion of foreign-born citizens is about four per cent. In State Legislatures the proportion of foreign-born members is somewhat larger, with the native-born element greatly in the majority. Further, the largest percentage of foreign-born legislators in America will be found in Western States—*in the States where the largest measure of political equality has been granted to women.*

It is a regrettable fact that, in the States where the foreign-born element is practically an unknown quantity (the States south of Mason and Dixon's line), the greatest number of barbaric legislative cruelties survive—child labor, inhuman treatment of criminals, and a stubborn resistance to the passage of all enlightened measures which are calculated to make woman the

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political, legal and economic equal of man. This is the section of country from which Mrs. Woolsey comes, and from which she has evidently gathered her facts.

Mrs. Woolsey's instances may be extreme illustrations of the attitude of men towards women in the early years of the suffrage movement, but that time is past; and it is but just to the men of this republic that an article published in 1903 should represent their attitude now, instead of harking back to forty years ago.

From this republic, which to her mind is largely governed by foreign-born men who crush down women's rights, and which accords women few privileges (even refusing to let them take part in the Presidential inaugural procession), Mrs. Woolsey sailed for England. The first notable sight she witnessed there was "Queen Victoria passing through the streets of London upon a state occasion." Mrs. Woolsey was then most observant. She noted that, "in an aristocracy, a woman was at the head of the government"; "that a state occasion in a monarchy was not an affair of males, males, males"; and that the Queen "received more homage and honor in a few hours than the combined womanhood of the combined republics of the world had received in a hundred years." "There were women in the coach with the Queen,and women in attendance when she opened Parliament." Thus it was made obvious to Mrs. Woolsey that in England, unlike the régime in the United States, "the government was not of men, by men, and for men." She then, "for the first time in all her life, lifted her head with pride of sex."

Evidently, Mrs. Woolsey has not the republican spirit. The vicarious honors showered on a few women easily satisfied her pride of sex, and she hastily "realized that a woman can be the political head in a monarchy, but that in no republic can a woman ever reach this zenith and pinnacle of power." If the Queen or her attendants had held place by election, comparison might be made between them and the women of republics. It was accident of birth alone which gave them place; and, by a similar accident of birth, the great mass of English women are, by the same system, debarred from such exaltation to place and honor.

Mrs. Woolsey lost sight of another general fact when she remarked that the government of Great Britain, unlike that of the United States, is not one of males. Parliament is composed of men, the political offices are absorbed by men. The late Queen's

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advisers were men, and the Governors of her colonies were men. The same is true of all other monarchies, with such signal exceptions as but prove the rule of male supremacy in a monarchy.

To place in contrast a republican woman with a Queen and say, "I saw that the former was the political inferior, while the latter was the political superior," is absurd.

The "sharp contrast" which is thus made apparent between the "first lady" in the United States, and the "first lady" in the largest aristocracy of Christendom was then "burned into Mrs. Woolsey's memory." If it had burned in deep enough to reach reason, the fact would have been evolved that, in the monarchical system, woman, as hereditary Queen, or as the mother of the heir to the throne, has precedence in pageant and state functions which places her outside comparison with any woman in a republic.

As to the assertion that not a single right, liberty or privilege enjoyed by woman in the United States is not also enjoyed by the women of Great Britain, I am profoundly more than willing to believe this, but that proves nothing to the point. The "Woman's Cause" has ever been one of "hands across the sea" between the women of Great Britain and the United States. I would, however, inform Mrs. Woolsey that the rights, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by British women were not the voluntary offering of the monarchy. These rights, like those of their sisters in America, were won by the hard-fought battles of women —women who were willing to bear opprobrium and humiliation, in the effort to persuade their brothers that their sex had rights apart from those conferred by male protection. Moreover, the rights are asked for in true republican spirit for *all* women, not for *some* women.

It is unfortunate for her qualifications to treat her subject with adequate knowledge of existing conditions that Mrs. Woolsey "kept her own counsel" so long, and failed to keep herself in touch with the "Woman's Cause," even if she were not willing to be identified with it. At the Councils of the "Woman's Cause" she would have learned that "if the first organized demand for the rights of women—made at the memorable convention of Seneca Falls, in 1848—had omitted the one for the franchise, those who made it would have lived to see all grant-

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ed."* The rights there named were "personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suit, to testify in court, to obtain a divorce for just cause, to possess her children, to claim a fair share of the accumulations during marriage." In many of the States all these privileges are now accorded, and in not one are all refused; but in 1848 most were denied in every State.

Moreover, if the original legal status of women in the United States was based on the assumption that woman was inferior to man, it was because of the common law of England, which was our inheritance from the British monarchy. Said Lord Brougham: "The common law in its attitude to women is the opprobrium of an age of Christianity." In 1881, Wendell Phillips, in an address before Harvard College, said: "For forty years, earnest men and women, working noiselessly, have washed away this opprobrium." The statute-books of thirty States have been remodelled away from the English common law, and woman stands to-day face to face with almost her last claim, the ballot.

Mrs. Woolsey tells us that ten years ago, according to certain data gathered by her and compared with Russian statistics, she found that "in America millions of wives had no individual control over their property," while Russian wives had. In the early fifties New York State passed the Married Woman's Property Bill, and Ohio, Maine, Indiana and Missouri followed the example. Many, if not all, States had passed such laws long before ten years ago—so the statement that millions of wives in America had no individual control over property at that time is not borne out by facts. If Mrs. Woolsey is desirous of making the political and legal condition of the women of America identical with that of Russian women, I can only say that, while her aspirations may amaze us, they will hardly lead us back there; and I doubt very much whether any Russian woman of education and knowledge regards her lot as happier and more equitable than ours. This, after all, is apparently merely a question of choice and taste.

The nature of the rights of Russian women may be judged by the following:

"The married Russian woman is in the full power of her husband, though she is mistress of her own fortune."

* Extract from Introduction to "The History of Woman's Suffrage," Volume IV., p. xiii.

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"Russian women vote on an equality with men for members of the municipal councils and county assemblies, but the Russian woman does not appear at the polls, but is represented by some male relative or friend, who casts the vote."

"The Russian woman, except that she is ineligible for office, possesses all the political rights of the Russian man."*

The same authority sums up the political rights of women by saying: "The Russian woman is downtrodden by society and state, and seeks consolation in religion."

As to the addresses of Mrs. Woolsey before women anarchists, the sentiments she expressed seem to have been as insidiously anarchistic as any they themselves could hope to propagate. The statement that "the Constitution of the United States excluded women from its scope of justice" will not bear examination. Women were excluded from political rights, but political rights must not be confounded with natural rights even by one addressing anarchists—particularly when the monarchies lauded never afforded the precedent of including women in the first grant of political rights.†

By grouping together Republicanism, Socialism and Anarchism as three forces which make against woman's political emancipation, Mrs. Woolsey suggests that her idea of republicanism is that it means the rule of the mob.

Nor is she more happy in her allusions to the republics which lie to the south of us. The conditions inherited from Spanish law and custom are, quite likely, different from the fruits of the wholly ideal English common law, but the Spanish woman seems to have no complaint to make. Certainly, those who know our Spanish-American neighbors best do not hesitate to speak in admiration of the beauty, tenderness and gracious felicity of domestic life in those republics which are alleged to be anarchistic.

If what Mrs. Woolsey contends as to women's position in republics be true, then may we decide that as humanity approaches

* "History of Woman's Suffrage," Volume III., page 915.

† "Natural or human rights exist for the individual, while political rights, though granted to individuals, do not exist for him, but for the massed interests of the public. Political rights are conferred by the law interpreting the general interests, suitably to the ideas, needs, and prejudices of the place, time, and age in which they are conferred."

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governmental perfection it is really retrograding to a point inferior to the brute creation. But the masses of women do not believe this. On the contrary, the women of this republic, even those of the "Woman's Cause," are hopeful, and assured that the position of woman under republics is as sure, honorable and open to advancement in all directions, as that of *the* women (not *some* women) of any monarchy now existing. "To say, in this age of the world, that women under any form of government on the face of the globe are better off than the women in the United States, is false. Our schools are absolutely free. With two or three exceptions all colleges are open to women. Half our States have granted school suffrage. Tax suffrage exists in five or six, and municipal in Kansas. Besides, we have four with full suffrage—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. The women of the United States, the nearest a true republic, are vastly freer in every department of life than under any form of monarchical government under the sun."*

FANNIE HUMPHREYS GAFFNEY.

* Extract from letter of Susan B. Anthony to the writer anent the article, "Woman's Inferior Position in a Republic."

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MR. WYNDHAM'S LAND ACT AND THE FUTURE OF IRELAND.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

"We were reckless, ignorant, improvident, drunken and idle; we were idle, for we had nothing to do; we were reckless, for we had no hope; we were ignorant, for learning was denied us; we were improvident, for we had no future; we were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery."—SIR R. KANE'S "*Industrial Resources of Ireland*": *1844*.

VISITING England this summer, after seven years' absence in the New World, I was met on all hands by evidence of a great moral revolution. President Loubet had come and gone, leaving a wake of gorgeous color behind him; Albemarle Street and Pall Mall looked strangely unfamiliar, wreathed in tricolor, and decked with Venetian masts gay with the red, white and blue of the French Revolution; everywhere were mottoes of France's friendship for England, and England's amity for France. From Dover came back the parting words of good-will; and within a few weeks the city of the white cliffs again held festival to welcome another French invasion, this time a host of Députés, crusading in the cause of peace. All the south of England was evidently delighted at making friends once more with the land across the Channel, that for so many generations has stood for the ideal of urbanity, grace and charm.

Nor was the change in the temper of England less marked in other ways. From the East came echoes of a great protest by Lord Curzon, with the whole Anglo-Indian community supporting him, declaring it unjust to lay on the natives of India the burden of an African army. And, while this new sensitiveness to the rights of India was finding voice, the best elements in the Cabinet, strongly moved thereto by the personal influence of the King, were strengthening the hands of Russia and Austria in the

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Balkans, thus trying, as far as may be done at this late hour, to make expiation for the Crimean War, and to undo the mischief wrought in Macedonia by the Treaty of Berlin. In the near East, as in the renewed amity with France, the personal power of the sovereign was evidently the potent factor; it was not the Prime Minister, with his wonderfully open mind; it was not the Foreign Secretary, with his unfortunate gift for confusion; it was not the Cabinet nor the Parliamentary party in power which led these changes. One could see everywhere the hand and, far more important, the heart of the King himself.

More striking than all else was the altered tone towards Ireland. It is not so long since a Premier of one great English party contemptuously compared the whole Irish nation to Hottentots, one of the most abject of savage races; it is not so long since a Premier of the other great English party declared, of the representatives of nearly four million Irishmen, that they were steeped to the lips in treason. It is not yet sixty years since the pathetic complaint put into the lips of Ireland by Sir Robert Kane, which I have quoted as a point of departure, was true to the letter. How all this has changed! In the great aristocratic party, not less than among advanced Liberals and Radicals, there is the sincerest wish to deal fairly with Ireland, to extend genuine and effective help, to do all that can be thought of and suggested to make the Irish nation strong, stable, self-reliant, mistress of its resources.

It is true that this better relation with Ireland is a splendid political investment; it is true that the hands of England are thereby greatly strengthened in the New World, not less than the Old; it is true that the good-will of Ireland becomes daily more necessary to the successful conduct of England's business at Westminster; it is true that the land of Ireland is an admirable security for the credits advanced by England; but all these things were equally true during all of the last two centuries, while the spirit of good-will and helpfulness is altogether new.

Yet another note of change. My good friend, Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., writing of Ireland and the British Empire, has indignantly declared that every English measure for the redress of Irish grievances had to be extorted by lawlessness and crime—the threatened rebellion under O'Connell, the Young Ireland risings, the Fenian outbreaks, the Land League, the assassination

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of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the dynamite outrages, the Plan of Campaign; this, says Mr. Russell, is the lesson that England teaches Ireland by the history of a hundred years. But here again we have the dawn of a new day: the great act of conciliation passed at the last session of Parliament, which at length goes to the root of many evils, is the result, not of agitation and outrage, but of sincere good-will and mutual understanding. Here again King Edward has had his personal triumph—here, as everywhere, a triumph of feeling rather than calculation, of the heart rather than the head. It is literally true that King Edward, in his Irish progress this summer, is the first English sovereign whose visit to Ireland was welcome, since the days of Earl Strongbow and the twelfth-century invasion.

This great moral revolution, therefore, has come to England. The old spirit of intolerance, in which England, as one of her historians has said, determined to make every government on the Continent of Europe feel that they could undertake nothing without Great Britain's permission; the old willingness to wring from India the uttermost farthing; the old arrogant dislike of Ireland: all are giving way to a national aspiration to do right for the sake of right, to strengthen the bonds of good-will and friendship, to seek peace and ensue it, that "peace conceived in the spirit of peace" which Edmund Burke saw as a vision afar. One may have had misgivings, five years ago, that our new friendship for England might bring to the United States some of the less worthy qualities of imperial ambition. To-day, the relation is reversed: England will rather give to the Anglo-Saxon world an example of moderation, of gentleness, of sympathy and good-will towards other nations. England is thus growing ready once more to play a great part among the nations, a part that promises much for the welfare of mankind.

In Ireland, one finds everywhere signs of a revolution not less sweeping and complete. A new spirit is in the air, a spirit of courage, of self-help, of self-reliance; a power to conceive new enterprises, to face the future with confidence and hope; in a word, a spirit the reverse of everything attributed by tradition to the Niobe of the nations. Mr. Wyndham's great Land Act has set the corner-stone on thirty-three years' work of reparation, a work that, but for certain questions of education and finance, is now measurably complete. Let us consider the measure and its

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results, economic, social, moral, trying thus to gain some insight into the future of Ireland.

That a nation, having lost its land by invasion, conquest, and confiscation, should buy that land back again by instalments, is a thing unprecedented in history.

France of the Revolution forms the closest parallel. There, however, the great feudal lords were driven out, and as many injustices almost were created as were sought to be removed. Yet the restoration of the land to the cultivator in France has succeeded even beyond expectation. Arthur Young's famous saying, that "ownership turns sands into gold," is there amply vindicated, and the thrift, tireless industry, and far-seeing economy of the French peasant proprietor have passed into a proverb.

One would be perfectly justified in prophesying a like result for Ireland, as a consequence of the laws of which Mr. Wyndham's Land Act is the crowning chapter. But, happily, we are not reduced to prophecy; we have an immense amount of already accomplished fact in Ireland to judge from. The principle and practice of Land Purchase, the buying back of their land by the cultivators in instalments, has been in force, in steadily increasing measure, for over a generation. Thus, more than six thousand tenants purchased their farms under the Irish Church Act of 1869; the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 each turned nearly a thousand tenants into proprietors; the Land Purchase Act of 1885 extended the same privilege to two thousand more; while the Land Purchase Acts of 1891 and 1896 turned into owners of the soil no less than thirty-seven thousand former tenants. We have, therefore, the experience of nearly fifty thousand peasant proprietors, created by earlier Irish Land Laws, to help us to judge of the effect, on the rest, of Mr. Wyndham's great measure. By a happy coincidence, the question of the experience, success or failure of these fifty-thousand peasant landlords occurred a few months ago to Mr. Wyndham himself, and he ordered a very exhaustive series of investigations to be made, under the direction of my friend, Mr. W. F. Bailey, of the Irish Land Commission, who has, most opportunely, sent me a copy of his report, from which I cannot do better than choose certain typical facts.

The investigators visited and reported on some fifteen thousand tenant-holdings,—about a third of the total; of these, ten thousand were in Ulster, and the rest equally divided between Leinster,

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Munster, and Connaught. In Ulster, certain of the great feudal estates were thus resolved back into their primal elements: properties like those of the Duke of Abercorn in Donegal, Lord Londonderry in Down, Lord Enniskillen in Fermanagh, Lord Annesley in Cavan, Lord Lurgan in Armagh; also lands held by the great English companies, like the Skinners and the Drapers, whose presence changed the name Derry to Londonderry. One may say, indeed, that in Ulster the great confiscation of the land of the O'Neills and O'Donnells which followed on "the Flight of the Earls," and the Plantation of 1611—the year in which Shakespeare sang his swan-song—are thus being visibly undone. In this way, old Irish history breaks through prosaic modern fact. No estates of equal magnitude have been sold to the tenants in Leinster, the great stronghold of the Anglo-Norman lords. Amongst the Leinster landlords who have parted with their lands, we find the Duke of Leinster once again, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earls of Normanton and Granard, Earl Stanhope, Lord Monck, and Lord Castletown. In Munster, the Marquis of Waterford was the largest selling landlord; the Denny estate came next, then Lord Normanton again, followed by the Earl of Shannon and the Earl of Egmont, a name suggesting quite other associations. In Connaught, the Costello estate was the largest among those visited; next, the lands of Lord Kilmaine, the Berridge and Reddington estates, and half a score more. Here again, there is much history for the discerning ear, in the character of the names.

These great estates, therefore, and many others like them, distributed through the four provinces, have been broken up and sold piecemeal to the former tenants, who by half-yearly payments are gradually becoming full owners of the soil. What use are they making of their ownership? What effect is it working in the material and moral fabric of their lives?

It must be understood that, until quite recently, the traditional tenure in Ireland was a year to year tenancy, and that it was the constant practice of the landlords and their agents to exact a higher rent in every case where a tenant, by building, draining, clearing or fencing, had added to the value of his holding. The tenant was thus taxed, and heavily taxed, for his own improvements, with the alternative of quitting, and leaving the whole of his work bodily to the landlord. This taxation of in-

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dustry and thrift went on endlessly, with the result that it became the tenants' interest to leave their farms as nearly in a condition of wilderness as was compatible with a bare livelihood. When the farms became the property of the tenants, therefore, in many of the farms we have spoken of almost everything had to be done to bring them up to a modern standard of excellence and efficiency.

Mr. Bailey and his associates tell us that the holdings of the new peasant proprietors, or tenant purchasers, as he prefers to call them, have largely improved in all parts of Ireland, as regards cultivation, treatment and general betterment. The exceptions to this rule are such as to emphasize the good effect of land purchase, rather than to detract from it. In the great majority of cases, the tenant purchasers, stimulated by the new sense of ownership, have risen early and toiled late to improve their holdings. In the words of the report, they consider that when they have satisfactorily established their financial position by the development of the soil, they can turn their attention to less essential though more attractive labors, improve their residences and secure the amenities of life. In the mean time, they have not merely maintained the condition of their holdings in the state in which they were at the time of purchase, but they have usually greatly increased their fertility, by manuring, top-dressing, the feeding of stock, draining and reclaiming. In many districts it was found that the actual carrying power of the land was largely increased, since purchase, by improved management. Greater zeal was shown in early ploughing, in cleaning the fields after the crop was taken out, in trimming hedges, and making farm roads. Most of these things, the purchasers admit, they would not have done under the old conditions; on an estate in Tyrone, for instance, a tenant purchaser said that much of his farm was formerly rough and "furzy," but that "he never attacked it until the place became his own."

Thus, in the words of Arthur Young, is ownership turning sands to gold, all over Ireland; and it is precisely the presence of these happy isles of ownership amongst those who still pay rent, that has compelled the extension of land purchase to the whole country; the contrast is too striking, too vividly realized by the tenants themselves, for them to remain contented with their less favored state. Having gone so far, it was necessary to go much

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farther; it was necessary, in fact, to allow the whole nation to buy back its land. And this is precisely what Mr. Wyndham has been able to do.

In other directions, conclusions as satisfactory were reached. It is found, for instance, that, though the land has always been their first care, the houses, both dwellings and offices, of tenant purchasers have very materially improved since they became owners. In all the four provinces, this is the general testimony. New buildings have sprung up; old ones have been repaired. On some estates, where the condition of purchased and non-purchased holdings can be contrasted, it is found that, while the houses on the former have been much improved, on the latter they are in a very neglected state. As to the tendency of these new landowners to sell, sublet or subdivide their holdings, we have very positive and most reassuring evidence. Subletting and subdivision are practically extinct, while the tendency to sell is swiftly disappearing. "I could well perceive," says one of the land inspectors, "the love these people have for their little homes, and how desperate must be their position before parting with them, and purchase seems to make them cling to them even more than before." Not less favorable is the verdict as to the credit and solvency of the new tenant purchasers. It has increased all round, as is testified to by the local bankers and shopkeepers, who are best in a position to know. A very good symptom is the fact that these new landowners are very chary of getting into debt; they think twice before borrowing money, even where their credit is first-rate.

We can well see that a great moral change must accompany this steady material regeneration. A feeling of safety is everywhere springing up, in place of the "paralyzing insecurity and doubt that prevailed for generations." A group of tenant purchasers in Roscommon declare that, "since they have got a hold of the land," they have not spared themselves in making improvements, which will be their own for all time. A parish priest in Cavan says that "purchase has brought peace. The people are more industrious, more sober, and more hopeful as to their future prospects." The police say that before purchase they found the people troublesome and unruly, but now all is changed, and quietness and order reign instead. The tenant purchasers are full of a supreme contentment at their altered situation. A

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priest in Fermanagh says the people in his parish are more industrious now, while the consumption of whiskey has diminished by a third. The evidence of these two ecclesiastics vividly recalls the plaintive declaration quoted at the outset: "We were drunken, for we sought to forget our misery!"

On a certain Wexford estate, the testimony is universal that "a spirit of content and interest in the improvement of the holdings has taken the place of unrest and discontent." The tenant owners of an estate in Tipperary declare that "purchase has been their salvation, although their landlord was one of the best in Ireland."

One more instance must suffice. Of an estate in Longford, which had been almost a wilderness under the old order, we are told that the change is simply miraculous. The land is now amply stocked, and well tilled and fertilized, and the people themselves absolutely enthusiastic about their new position. At present, nothing could be better than the way the land is treated, and the cleanliness of both land and houses might serve as an object lesson to those in more favored counties. Before purchase, the reputation of the people was bad enough, and "the sheriff almost slept on the property." Now, the inspector declares, a more honest, sober, industrious, hard-working, and self-respecting body of men does not exist in Ireland.

If such a revolution has already been brought about by the purchase of less than fifty thousand holdings, we can easily foresee that the extension of the same system to the whole country means nothing less than a complete regeneration, a change which, for magnitude and beneficence, is unequalled in modern history.

To turn now to the social side of the question. What will be the fruit of this new order of things on the nation's social life? Taking the word "society" in a somewhat conventional sense, we can see that the change will be most sweeping. It means the annihilation of the entire territorial aristocracy, the submergence of the "landed gentry," and their disappearance as a class. No one can read the list of great estates already given, like those of the Duke of Leinster, the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Londonderry, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Enniskillen, the Earl of Shannon, and their lesser brethren in diminishing degrees of the hierarchy, without seeing that, from the standpoint of picturesque effect, of international social standing, of

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pageantry and heraldry, the country will lose much. For no one can deny picturesqueness to the feudal element in Ireland, from the days of Earl Strongbow, the de Courcys, the de Lacys, the de Berminghames and their peers, who studded throughout the country those great donjon-keeps which still stand everywhere as frowning memorials of conquest. Down through the ages, from those early times to the days of Charles Lever and Samuel Lover, of "Castle-Rackrent" and "Ballyblunder," the fine old Irish gentlemen have been a mine of wealth for history and fiction. Yet, in their case, the veil of romance is somewhat threadbare and thin. The hard truth has already leaked out through the land reports just quoted, that they may have made for national picturesqueness, but they never made for national well-being. Like Bacon's rats, they have been a good thing for themselves, but a shrewd thing for the land of their adoption. Yet, in this era of conciliation, we may forget old scores; leaving out of the picture their many shortcomings, let us consider the fate of the remnant that will be left behind.

For, though within a few years there will be no more landlords in Ireland, yet the landlord class will not disappear, nor take themselves off bag and baggage. They will remain, in some cases, because they cannot afford to go; in many cases, because they have come to love the land of their adoption, almost as much as it is loved by the original race. These former landlords will retain their houses, their parks, their demesne lands, their gardens, and, in many cases, their home farms. It will often happen that one son of the family, from such long association with the land, will have gained a taste for the things of the land, a vivid feeling for seed-time and harvest, for the care of cattle, for the thousand natural touches that make up country life. We shall have, therefore, a nucleus of the old gentry in a new guise: come down to the level of common earth, standing on an equality with their former tenants, and competing with them in the practical arts of farming. One might well write pathetic odes on this little remnant of the once omnipotent garrison, fallen on evil days, and shorn of all their glory; but the plain truth is, that their position may be very comfortable for themselves, and very useful for their neighbors and former tenants. As to their own comfort, it may be said that nowhere on earth will be found a people so willing to forget old wrongs, so gentle, so conciliatory,

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as the Irish peasants, the tenants of the past and landowners of the present and future. They have a sort of feudal affection for the landlord class, even for the black sheep of the class, and much more, therefore, for the young and tender lambs, and they will do all in their power to make it up to them for the glory that is fled, as probably the masses of no other land would be willing to do. Mr. Bailey gives an interesting instance of this feeling: the former tenants of one estate, now the owners, have volunteered to preserve the game on their lands, for the benefit of the son of their late landlord; what kinder act of conciliation and sympathy could be conceived? Thus the remnant of the old garrison, the belated gentry still left in the big houses all over Ireland, will find themselves in an atmosphere of kindliness, of appreciation, of considerate tact. They, on their part, can do much for the country. They will have two things of the utmost value, and which the masses of tenant purchasers everywhere greatly need. These two things are education and capital. For it must be understood that the Land Purchase scheme, while annihilating the old landlord class as landlords, will recreate them as a class of local capitalists, and they will have many inducements to invest their ransoms on the spot, where they can watch over and nurse their investments. It may be "rubbing it in" to say that, under present conditions, they will not be inclined to put their money in American Industrials; but, at any rate, it is much better that their charity should begin at home.

To enumerate the endless fields for investment in Ireland, the endless directions in which small amounts of capital are needed, and would be well repaid, all over Ireland, would be to write a separate treatise; a treatise in which the work of the Congested Districts Board, the new Agricultural Department, the Co-operative Banks, and so many similar activities would have their proper place,—one much larger than I can give them here. Fortunately, one is under no obligation to solve historic problems beforehand; the matter will work itself out, and the men on the spot, the new capitalists who represent the old landed gentry, will find out for themselves, perhaps with the help of Sir Horace Plunkett, Lord Iveagh and their like, the thousand and one directions in which their energies may be profitably bestowed. One may say, in parenthesis, that the proper disposition and utilization of the remnant of the old landed gentry of Ireland

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is one of the most important and interesting questions which the nation, including the remnant themselves, will be called on to solve.

The education of this same class, their accessibility to ideas,—a quality not universally attributed to them, but which they nevertheless possess,—will form a valuable national asset. In agriculture, they will adopt and introduce, or even invent, new methods, more economic and more modern. Sir Horace Plunkett and his coadjutors are proofs of these very qualities, working out in just this way. They will go beyond the land, and devise new outlets and energies in a score of ways, which I will not undertake to divine beforehand. They have inherited the instinct of leadership; they will now be in a position to use it. Therefore, let us waste no pity on the disinherited gentry; let them make themselves indispensable, as they very well may.

Now comes another consideration, here suggested, I believe, for the first time. Through a piece of good fortune, I recently met a good many sons of the older Irish race who, for two generations or more, have been at home in the New World. They have gained all the capacity, energy, command of the arts of life, which one thinks of as American; yet they have retained, deep in the heart's core, that tradition of Ireland as a land to be reverenced and loved, which only a few chosen countries in the world's history have been able deeply to inspire. These men are returning to Ireland, but in a new rôle. They are buying and restoring some of the castles and great country houses that the aristocracy of the English garrison are letting slip through their fingers. They are restoring, without premeditated or conscious intention, the older Gaelic nobility, in eclipse since Anglo-Norman days. It is the beginning of a movement which will undo the Flight of the Earls.

These returned colonists will be, in a sense, the flower of the American genius and temperament; yet they will be profoundly and genuinely Irish; and few things promise better things for the future of Ireland than the movement of repatriation which has thus set in, almost unobserved and unrecorded. I have in mind two country-seats, one in Galway and the other in Kildare, which are, as it were, the first-fruits of this great movement of restoration.

To touch, in brief conclusion, on the moral and spiritual

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effects of this regeneration of Ireland. It may be said, with confidence, that the Irish, as a race, are singularly gifted, not only in intellect, but also in temperament. This singularly gifted race has suffered, in its own land, a long eclipse; an eclipse partial from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, and thereafter total until seventy-five years ago. One by one, the clouds of conquest are being rolled back, much more swiftly than they came. In spiritual things, as in material, after centuries of utter repression, Ireland is once more coming to its own.

We have, then, a race singularly gifted, a race of pure life and high spiritual ideals, a race living, in part because of its very repression and spoliation, pre-eminently in that invisible world which is eternal, a race greatly endowed with the sense of humanity, a race which, all through the Middle Ages and modern days, has been denied all free expression and outlet; yet a race which has nevertheless retained its virility; nay, which has found the fountain of perpetual youth. This race, then, so gifted and so endowed, has been held back until this dawning twentieth century, in which it is destined to play a high and dominant part, not less in the Old World than in the New. We have seen the waves of materialism and disbelief, gradually gathering throughout the Middle Ages, breaking forth at the end of the eighteenth century in the beliefs or unbeliefs which were the evangel of the French Revolution. This same tide of materialism, flowing onward through the nineteenth century, has covered all things, history, science, philosophy, statecraft. But the flowing tide has ceased, has already begun to ebb; and, for all who can read the signs of the times, it is clear that the winter is passing, that the spring of a new birth is at hand. One can see here a mission for a race such as we have described, a race of clean life, firmly founded in the invisible world; and this race, we may confidently hope, will play a great part in the century before us; a great part in many fields, but most of all in restoring to our life a truer sense of our humanity, based, as it only can be based, on a sense of the divine.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

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EDUCATIONAL EFFICIENCY OF OUR MUSEUMS.

BY ALFRED GOLDSBOROUGH MAYER, CURATOR OF NATURAL SCIENCES, MUSEUM OF THE BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

THE development of museums within the United States during the past thirty years has been insignificant in comparison with the enormous growth of libraries and universities; and while our country now compares favorably with European lands in its colleges and libraries it is far behind them in its museums. A comparison between the museums of England and Wales and those of the United States reveals the weakness of our country in this respect, and it is apparent that our museums are only beginning to make themselves felt as factors in our system of education, whereas in Europe they have long been regarded as indispensable for the maintenance of culture and ideals of civilization.

One hundred and fifty-seven public museums are recorded in Baedeker's handbook of 1902, as existing in England and Wales, and in addition, fully two hundred and fifty private residences contain valuable and instructive collections which are open to public inspection and are practically museums. Also numbers of schools and colleges maintain museums; so that the number of collections available for public instruction is at least one and one-half times as great as in the United States.

Another feature of the situation in England is the presence of good museums in small towns and even villages. One-sixth of the English museums are in towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants, while one-third are in cities having less than 30,000. London alone has twenty-eight public museums which expend annually about $500,000 in the purchase of specimens, certainly three times the amount spent for this purpose by all of the museums of the United States. Museums of the fine arts are both more numerous and more important in England than in America.

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Seventy-six of the one hundred and fifty-seven public museums of England, or nearly one-half of the total number, contain collections in the fine arts, while only one-fourth of the public museums of the United States devote any attention to art. However, the chief differences which exist between European museums and those of America cannot be stated numerically. They are distinctions of quality rather than quantity, and so much remains to be done in the development of our museums in this respect that a brief statement of what appears to be some of the chief defects of our museums may not be unwelcome, if it serve merely to stimulate interest in and discussion of a subject which, in a few years, will become a much more important element in the educational problem of our country than is the case at present.

We have overlooked the fact that the vast foreign immigration of the past few years has brought among us a population accustomed to museums, and who seek the amusement and instruction which these institutions afford with much keener appreciation, respect and interest than is manifested by native-born Americans. Museums, Zoological and Botanical Gardens, Aquaria and Public Parks, are all appreciated more thoroughly and visited more frequently by foreigners than by our native-born, and we should take full care that the influence which they exert shall refine the thought and elevate the ideals of that foreign element which is soon to exert a great and all too little known influence upon our national destiny. About eighty per cent. of the emigrants to our country are between fifteen and forty years of age. Their ideals are already formed, our universities affect them only indirectly, and our libraries exert an influence upon them through the feeble medium of a language foreign to their thought. The Museum, the Zoological Garden, and the Public Park may still appeal directly to them; through sight they may come to know our land and to appreciate and respect its beauty, its history, and its principles.

But the ideal public museum is that in which the visitor who enters seeking mere amusement finds delight in learning. The museum is a school whose whole instruction is elective, and, in order that its teaching may be welcomed, it must be presented in a manner attractive to the eye as well as to the mind. The museum must be a beautiful place, displaying the utmost refinement of simplicity and elegance in architecture, with well pro-

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portioned rooms, each devoted exclusively to one subject; and the quality of the specimens and the care displayed in their labelling and arrangement must comport in every way with the tastefulness and dignity of the building itself. The general subject of museum architecture and display is better understood in Europe than with us, and it has been reduced almost to a science in the valuable writings of A. B. Meyer.*

We should bear in mind that, in exhibitions designed for public instruction, the quality of the specimens is of far more importance than their quantity; and there can be no doubt that most of our museums would become more instructive to the public were they to withdraw a large proportion of their collections from view. Sir William Flower voices this sentiment when he states that the attempt to display every specimen is as absurd as if in a library every book were to be dissected, and each page mounted within a glazed frame for public inspection. Collections of local natural history might well be as complete as possible; but in all but the largest museums the displays of exotic specimens should be confined to an exhibition of important and interesting forms, which illustrate general laws of relationship, etc.

At the same time, the collections for study, which are to be maintained in storage, should be as complete and as accessible as possible. A reserve collection composed of excellent specimens should be made, and from time to time such specimens should be displayed, others at the same time being withdrawn from exhibition. In other words, the collection upon exhibition should be small, but it should be changed frequently.

Each case should be confined to the illustration of some one fact, or one law, or one group of related laws, and the purpose of each exhibit should be at once apparent to the average visitor. The entire exhibit in each case might be compared to a narrative, and the specimens to the sentences composing the story. An obvious reason should exist for the presence of each specimen within the case, and unnecessary, irrelevant or poorly labelled specimens should be as inexcusable as are poorly constructed and meaningless sentences in a literary production. It is sad to re-

* "*Über Museen des Ostens der Vereinigten Staaten*," I., 1900; II., 1901. Also "*Über einige Europäische Museen*," 1902; R. Friedländer & Sohn.

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flect upon the lack of common sense in this respect which is evinced in the displays of most of our public museums. We all recall the thousands of irrelevant specimens which crowd the cases only to bewilder and fatigue the visitor, and to defeat the opportunity which the museum enjoys to teach objectively the laws of nature.

Although lack of judgment in the selection and poor taste in the arrangement of specimens are probably the chief faults of the displays in our museums, the inefficiency of the labelling in most of our museums is even more culpable because more readily corrected.

There is but little of educational value in labels which give merely the scientific names and the catalogue numbers of specimens.

Well illustrated descriptive labels must abound. Labels should be clear and direct, and should convey as much information as possible in an accurate, concise, and readable form. No label, of course, can be wholly satisfactory, for some of the chief desiderata in the composition of a label are mutually antagonistic. For example, a label must be clear, but, in order that the public may grasp its meaning, it must avoid terms whose meaning is precise to the man of science, but unknown to the general public. It must also be full of valuable information, yet as brief as possible. When possible, labels should be accompanied by colored illustrations and by maps showing geographical distributions of specimens. A good balance is obtained when both specimens and labels equally attract the eye, the one compelling attention to the other. Most of the descriptive labels of our museums are either too long to be readable, or are couched in terms too technical for public comprehension.

The superficiality of the instruction and its lack of direction are serious faults in our museums. Without for a moment overlooking the good which museums may do in merely affording a legitimate source of pleasure to the public, we conceive it to be more important that they should teach the laws of nature, and inspire respect for the underlying principles of truth. The museum should become a place into which the student may enter with full assurance that the utmost facility will be afforded him in his researches.

Specimens are dead, but thought will grow and live; and a

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museum without books is almost as worthless as a museum without labels. Labels must needs be superficial, but books may at least give to the student all that has been made known.

It is shameful to record that twelve of the leading museums of the United States are expending on the average but one per cent. of their annual incomes upon books.

General libraries abound in our country but learned libraries are few, and many of them have been accumulated by Societies, which no longer flourish in the United States as they did a generation ago, and whose libraries can no longer be adequately maintained. One of the chief reasons for the position of usefulness and respect to which the museums of Europe have attained is, that they are intimately associated with great libraries. Not only should the museum possess a valuable and readily accessible reference library, but general study should be encouraged, by placing books upon tables near cases containing exhibits of a nature treated of in the volumes. Such books should be reliable general treatises, written in a style suited to popular comprehension. They should not be chained, and comfortable chairs should be provided near the tables, in order that the study of the books may become a pleasure to the visitor. In addition, a conspicuous label should be placed on each case, giving a list of the books within the museum library which relate to the subjects illustrated by the contents of the case.*

The museum should also contain study rooms, wherein specimens may be brought to the student and every facility afforded to him in his work; and teachers should especially be encouraged to use such rooms, wherein the resources of the museum upon any subject may be quickly gathered to aid in their discourses. The museum should also be prepared to lend study collections and duplicates to school-teachers and others engaged in educational work outside of the museum building.

But public instruction given by the museum must continue to be superficial and undirected, until well-trained public demonstrators are appointed who will, at stated intervals, accompany visitors, explain the purport of the exhibits and point out the laws which the specimens serve to illustrate. This duty is now intrusted to poorly paid and hence uneducated persons; but

* The Librarian of the Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences has carried these plans into effect with remarkable success.

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its proper performance demands wide learning, culture, excellent judgment and lucidity of expression, altogether comparable with the requirements demanded of our college professors. Such demonstrators should plan their lectures so as not only to meet the demands of the general public, but also to keep in close accord with the educational work of the schools in the vicinity of the museum.

When one considers the wide influence which accurate, interesting explanations of museum collections would have in increasing public knowledge and refining public taste, one wonders why it is that, in most of our museums, such duties are consigned to the spasmodic efforts of ignorant floor attendants.

The office of the museum demonstrator might well be called the "Information Room" of the museum, and he should be in readiness to assist all inquirers in their search for knowledge.

England has been fortunate in that such leaders as Huxley, Flower, Pitt-Rivers, and others have aroused intelligent and wide-spread interest in her museums. America is unfortunate in that her own great student of the museum problem, Goode, left no active disciple to continue the work after his untimely death, and the subject has received almost no benefit from public discussion since his day.

The libraries of our country have received a wonderful stimulus to progress through the association of representative librarians, the founding of training-schools for library officials, and the publication of journals devoted to discussions of the problems which every active library must meet.

A similar association of museum curators and directors would be of incalculable benefit in improving our museums and rendering them useful in manifold ways to the people of our country.

ALFRED GOLDSBOROUGH MAYER.

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THE GROWING NAVAL POWER OF JAPAN.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE navy of Japan is the child of Great Britain; the ships were built mainly in England, and most of the officers and men have been trained either in British men-of-war, or in colleges and schools founded and for many years controlled by British naval officers. As late as ten years ago, a British officer was retained as naval adviser to the Japanese Government. It is, therefore, appropriate that the two forces should be bound in a close alliance during these years when the outlook in the Far East becomes intermittently threatening. The fleet which flies the ensign of the Rising Sun—"Dai Nippon," as the people call their kingdom, means "the great land on which the sun first rises"—is linked to the fleet of an empire on which the sun never sets.

The progress of Japan is one of the marvels of the last half century. A story is still told of the first steam-vessel possessed by the Japanese. It was presented to the Emperor in 1858 by Queen Victoria, and was a small steam-yacht, the "Empress."*

It is said that the new owners were rather impatient of instruction in the methods of working their first steamship, and dispensed too soon with their teachers, a few British bluejackets. They set out bravely, having successfully learned how to start and steer the little ship; but, when they wanted to stop, they discovered that they had forgotten how this desirable operation was performed. Consequently, they had to steam round and round the Gulf of Yeddo until the fires died down and there was

* Admiral Kamimura, during a recent visit to Sydney recalled the interesting fact that one of the young officers of the "Empress," when the vessel was handed over to the Japanese, was the present Governor of New South Wales, Admiral Sir Harry Rawson. This ship, he added, was the beginning of the Japanese navy, and, however great and powerful that navy might become in the future, the Japanese people would always remember its British origin with pride and gratitude.

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no steam to drive the engines. Then the yacht was tugged home.

Since these early years, Japan has swiftly emerged out of the almost barbaric darkness in which she hid herself until as late as 1868, the year of the revolution against the despotic Shoguns; but it was not until 1899 that the whole country was thrown open freely to foreigners. In the past quarter of a century the Japanese have been bending themselves, with wonderful determination, to the task of occidentalizing their institutions, their methods of defence and government and education, and now the Empire flourishes under a constitutional monarchy, supported by two Diets, (the lower one democratic), and has a system of compulsory education, with well-equipped universities, and no fewer than forty-eight libraries, while the army and navy have shown their mettle in the struggle with China, and, later, in association with the troops and sailors of the great Western nations during the Chinese troubles of 1900.

In no department of the state has British influence been stronger than in the navy. Englishmen in the early days organized and trained the officers and men, and the ships have been built almost entirely by English labor. Japan had no navy a quarter of a century ago; to-day her fleet is one of the dominating factors in the Far East. The rise of Japan in naval power has no parallel in history, and this year the Emperor must have been a proud ruler as he passed down the review lines of his assembled men-of-war, which include some of the finest and most powerful ships in the fleets of the world.

The fighting fleet nominally dates from about 1877 (though a small ship had been purchased a short time before from the United States), when Samuda's old yard on the Thames built the earliest ironclad, "Fuso," from the design of Sir Edward Reed. For several years the movement towards the construction of a large fleet made little progress, though in that time the foundation was being laid for the great expansion of the past ten years. The Japanese understood that an adequate organization and a system of training for officers and men were the first essentials. Thirty years ago, with the consent of the British Admiralty, Japanese officers were undergoing instruction at the gunnery and torpedo-schools at Portsmouth, and gaining sea experience with the British squadrons; and down to quite recent years the aspiring

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officers of the Japanese navy were to be met with on British ships. Meantime, in Japan itself training establishments were being founded, and for this work the Japanese authorities, having a firm belief in English methods, borrowed officers from the British Admiralty to carry out the work of organization. The present Vice-Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas, now in command of the British North-American Squadron, was the commander of the naval mission sent to Japan in the seventies to instruct the fleet of that country, and afterwards he became Director of the Imperial Naval College at Tokio. Another officer who assisted in the work, Vice-Admiral Sir Arthur Wilson, V.C., is now in command of the British home-fleet; while, as late as 1893, Japan retained the services of Admiral J. Ingles as naval adviser. Under these auspices, the foundation was laid of the naval power of this regenerated kingdom.

For many years the Japanese people had little faith in their fleet; they regarded it as an aristocratic institution and grudged the money spent on ships. This was the state of affairs as late as the outbreak of war with China. In this struggle the Japanese navy won with ease, against the more powerful fleet of China. Japan had few vessels of much fighting value, and not a single modern armored ship. She achieved victory by the daring, resourcefulness, and judgment of the officers, and the splendid devotion to duty of the crews.

The world rang with stories of the way in which the Japanese had fought, and these achievements planted in the breasts of the Japanese people a pride not felt before in the marine forces of the island-kingdom. The events which occurred at the time of the signing of the treaty of peace at Shimonoseki fired the nation, newly awakened to the meaning of sea-power, with a determination to build and equip a fleet capable of meeting any probable combination of enemies. While Japan was dictating terms to China, Russia, Germany, and France stepped in between the two parties, and declared that, in the interest of the integrity of China, Japan could not be allowed to hold Port Arthur which she had captured. Neither Great Britain nor the United States made effective protest against this interference. The victor had to bow in face of superior force, and within a short period had the mortification of seeing Russian soldiers take over the barracks built during Japanese occupation of Port Arthur, and the sway

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of the Muscovite Power slowly but surely spread over the whole province of Manchuria. This sequence of events was sufficient to rouse the whole people to a resolve to build a fleet which should be able not only to defeat China again, if need be, but to hold its own against any probable European enemy.

As soon as the war was over, the Japanese Government, which had two battle-ships already under construction, decided to put in hand a great ship-building programme, which was to occupy British workmen for several years, for all the battle-ships and most of the cruisers and torpedo craft were ordered from England. The scheme was a gigantic one for a small and commercially backward country like Japan, for Japan is poor. It included no fewer than four first-class battle-ships, and, in addition to smaller craft, six first-class cruisers, so heavily armored and carrying so many big guns as to be battle-ships in all but name.

Out of the spoils of her fight—for Japan received a heavy indemnity from China—the victorious navy has been rebuilt, while the personnel has been doubled. Now the programme which was outlined at the conclusion of hostilities has been completed, and this year the Emperor—now a constitutional monarch, but the head of his navy as is the German Emperor of the German fleet—has had the pride of reviewing his new fleet. So great an expansion in so short a period is unexampled in the history of modern navies, for not even Germany's growth is comparable to that of Japan, when their relative wealth, development, and industrial resources are borne in mind. At the time of the war with China, the whole fleet of Japan displaced only about 30,000 tons; today, the aggregate displacement is over 250,000 tons.*

While this armada has been in process of creation, other Powers have been adding to their naval strength in the Far East. Russia has hurried from Europe practically every new ship as it has been finished, while France also maintains a more powerful squadron adjacent to Chinese waters than she did. In view of developments near their doors, the Japanese people decided last

* The navy of Japan, at the present time, consists of: 6 first-class battle-ships, 1 second-class battle-ship, 2 coast-defence vessels (armored ships which cannot fight at a distance from a base), 6 armored cruisers of the first class, 10 protected cruisers of the second class (with 2 building), 8 protected cruisers of the third class (with 1 building), 9 unprotected cruisers, 1 torpedo vessel, 17 torpedo-boat destroyers (with 2 more building), and 67 torpedo-boats (with 18 others in process of construction).

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autumn that the time had come to augment their fleet still further. Some wrangling occurred as to the means by which the new ships should be paid for, out of fresh taxation or loans, but backed up by the popular demand for a greater navy, politicians did not long delay in settling their differences; and now it has been agreed to raise a loan with which to carry out another big programme, the construction of the ships being spread over a period of six years. The scheme has been framed to neutralize the additions which, it is understood, Russia and France will make to their forces in the Far East in the near future. The Japanese people have not forgotten Port Arthur over which the Russian flag flies, and they are determined that they will not again be robbed without making a determined stand. Moreover, Japan's teeming population of upwards of 40,000,000 requires an outlet, and colonies are among the necessities of the near future.

While the array of ships which have been built in less than ten years is impressive, ships without men adequately trained to answer to the needs of the highly complicated mechanical vessels of to-day, and without officers capable of commanding, thinking and planning, are mere dangerous toys. Any nation might be proud of the personnel of the Japanese fleet; officers and men are splendid. During the visits to Europe of ships flying the brilliant ensign of the Rising Sun, it has been possible to form some estimate of the crews. Mrs. Bishop, the traveller, summed up the race as "vehemently patriotic, civilized, independent, educated, ambitious, free, persevering, tenacious, possessing a singular secretiveness and powers of assimilation." These are essentially the qualities that impress any visitor who spends any considerable time on board any of the Japanese men-of-war, which the officers navigate with such consummate skill. They keep their vessels as spotlessly clean as British or American ships-of-war; than this no higher praise can be paid. But in the men of the fleet one also notices some remnant of the savage fighting qualities which have made these proud little people the dominant military factor among Far Eastern nations.

The Japanese are sailors by instinct. They are secured by conscription and do not volunteer for service, as is the case in England. Japan has a fishing population of about two million men, and from this section of the community she draws her best seamen, men of intelligence, resource, and sea-lore, and capable

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of quickly acquiring sufficient mechanical skill to enable them to control the complex mechanism of their modern men-of-war with complete success. They desire no pampering and they can live on the simplest food and sleep anywhere; but in their new ships they have more air and, in some respects, greater comforts than are to be found on many, if not most, British men-of-war. These sailors of the Far East take things very much as they find them, with a stoical calm. They face danger with much the same spirit with which they take their pleasure; and, in spite of the rapid strides which civilization has made in their country, their luxuries are few and they are contented and happy. They are devoted to simple sports, to fencing, and to acting; no one can ever forget the dramatic entertainments on board Japanese men-of-war who has been privileged to witness them. Nor does the memory soon become dim of one of these ships when decked out in gala dress, with chrysanthemums, cherry blossoms, and other blooms typical of Japan enlivening the grim aspect of the decks. The men are adepts in the making of imitation paper flowers, which so closely resemble the handiwork of nature that at a casual glance one hardly notices the deception.

On ordinary occasions, there is little on board a Japanese vessel to differentiate it from a British or American ship. The Admiral's quarters on board one of the flagships are not unlike such an apartment as Lord Charles Beresford has in the Channel Fleet, except for the complete outfit of ancient and beautifully wrought Japanese armor that stands against one wall, like some ghost of the not far-distant time when these wonderful people had still to grip civilization and acquire all it had to give in power and culture. And the officers are as like British officers in their cordial good humor as one could wish, open-hearted, easily amused, and polite to every English bore who afflicts them because they assume that it is their place, when visiting English harbors, to suffer the bore willingly since they are guests. They have been pupils, learning all worth knowing that the Western world had to teach, but they have maintained a dignity of manner which has won admiration.

It is a common belief that the Japanese have the imitative faculty, but that they are lacking in initiative. This is one of those erroneous opinions which, hastily formed, time will serve to correct. There is already sufficient evidence to show that these

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people, who have proved such apt students of Western methods, will soon be able to stand absolutely alone, and to carry on their developments with a calm belief in their powers and a consciousness of having grasped the rudiments of every branch of knowledge. They have learnt as children, almost by rote, and then worked out the meaning of the knowledge they have acquired. No one acquainted with the Japanese can fail to be struck with their all-round capacity, as evidenced in many branches of industry, and not least in the industry of manufacturing instruments of war for use afloat and ashore. It has been already stated that most of the ships of their new fleet were designed and built in Great Britain; and, to propitiate other Powers, a proportion of orders, a small one, was given to countries of Continental Europe. Now the time is coming when Japan will be able to throw off the assistance of the Western world, politely, but finally. Already her arsenals have progressed so far that they are capable of building protected cruisers and torpedo craft, destroyers as well as torpedo-boats. Soon the gun-factory and armor-plate factory, now being established, will be ready to begin work; and then the day will have dawned when Japan will bid farewell to all those Europeans, especially Englishmen, who have helped her to acquire all the expensive accessories of a Great Power with a voice in the councils of the world.

Japan closely resembles Great Britain. Both countries consist of a group of islands with almost similar area and population, and Japan was not slow to see that the force of circumstance which had led Great Britain to rely for trade on a great mercantile marine, and for defence mainly on her fleet, applied in her own case with almost equal urgency. Consequently, Japan has been gradually and, of late, swiftly building up her commercial power by means of a great mercantile marine, which is now seen passing to and fro, East and West, and her fighting strength by means of a navy which promises, in the future, to attain a supremacy in the Far East almost as indisputable, all factors considered, as the supremacy of Great Britain in the Far West. The latest movement in favor of a yet greater war-fleet is one of the most significant facts in the ever-changing scene in Chinese and Korean waters. Year by year the expenditure of Japan on her naval defence is growing; but she has far to go before she can be said to be devoting to her fleet as much proportionately as

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Great Britain spends on hers. Japan still spends eighty per cent. more on her army than upon her navy. It will be interesting to note whether this latest recruit to the concert of the Great Powers will attempt the rôle of Germany, France, and Russia, and endeavor to maintain a huge army—her army now numbers 632,000 officers and men—as well as a navy capable of dominating adjacent waters, in spite of the development of Russian ambitions and because of them; or whether she will follow the example of Great Britain and the United States, and rest satisfied with a comparatively small regular army and concentrate her attention on the fleet. It is probable that a nation so dominated by patriotism could rely, to some extent, successfully upon a volunteer force; but it is doubtful if a citizen army, even stiffened by regulars, could meet such an emergency as Japan may have to face. The question is one which may arise in the future, as the country develops industrially and the pressure of military service becomes more irksome, the avenues for labor are widened, and the necessary training for commerce and manufacture is more exacting. It is a problem which is leading European Powers to shorten the term of service in the interests of trade and of social order, for all democracies hate forced service. Japan is still young as a war-Power and as a commercial nation, and such a problem may not confront her for some years.

Japan has gone far. With her great resources, with her industrious, patriotic, quick-witted and adventurous population, she is destined to go yet farther, and as her interests, trade and territorial, spread beyond her group of islands, her navy must undoubtedly continue to grow. As Russia despatches ships-of-war in increasing numbers to the Far East to support her diplomacy, so Japan will spend and be spent in the determination to be ready for the struggle which a large section of the people regard as inevitable. A nation with the deep-rooted love of country and the high pride which characterize the Japanese will not soon forget Port Arthur. In any struggle, unless it be legitimately in defence of the integrity of China for "the open door," Japan, of course, would stand alone, since Great Britain's treaty obligation requires her only to stand aside and see fair play—in other words, to prevent any other Power or Powers joining in the fray to the detriment of Japan.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

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THE REPUBLIC AND THE DOMINION.

BY FRANK B. TRACY.

HE would be a most superficial and oversanguine observer of North-American affairs who should see in the happy reopening of the Alaskan boundary negotiations the preliminary to a harmonious settlement of all questions in dispute between Canada and the United States. Granted that the adjustment of that boundary will be ordered speedily, and that the verdict will be accepted without much grumbling by either of the parties, there remains a veritable host of issues and questions, each full of irritating and festering features. The Alaskan dispute has been, it is true, a fruitful source of discord and embarrassment to both countries, but its settlement carries with it nothing else. On the contrary, it is only natural to presume that one side will feel worsted by the boundary award, and will be all the more insistent upon its claims when another dispute between the parties is called for adjudication. I emphasize this point because it has been urged by the roseate-visioned that, once the Alaskan muddle is cleared, all other mooted difficulties will collapse like a house of cards. Tradition, history and precedent are all against completely harmonious relations between Canada and the United States. The real reason for this inharmony is fundamentally political. It lies in the blunt fact that one country is a Republic and the other a Dominion.

The vast majority of the Anglo-Saxons of to-day feel lightly or not at all the government yoke, and they are accustomed to sneer at those who assert its influence. Yet, even to-day, government is one of the most potent factors in determining sentiment and the direction of the currents of thought and action. The condition of political separateness between Canada and the United States explains practically all their differences and dis-

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putes. That condition is abnormal, even though we have been used so long to regard it as natural, permanent and inevitable. It is abnormal, because it violates a simple law of ethnological and sociological science. That law is: that contiguously situated peoples of like origin and race grow great only when united; when separated, they become weakened by conflicts, jealousies, and recriminations. It was the perception of this law which fortified American statesmen in forbidding the South to secede. The past and present of the states of the German Empire furnish a potent illustration of the operation of this law. Its obligation rests more clearly upon Canada and the United States to-day, for the German states were independent, and Canada has not even that justification for her separate existence.

In fact, Canada's position is not only anachronistic, but is also unique. It is to-day the only colony in either hemisphere that is situated beside a great, civilized, alien power. An ocean divides it from the Mother Country, and the huge nation near it is constantly, though unconsciously, attracting it away from its allegiance. It is this United States which, in its swift rise, democratic principles and overpowering might, and by its example and drawing power, has robbed all European nations, except England, of their vast colonies on the mainland of North America. Only Canada remains, a solitary example and survivor of the policy of past centuries.

There are many reasons for the union of Canada and the United States. The two peoples are almost homogeneous. In neither country is the population of a single race; but, in both, amalgamation of largely the same elements has been so carried on that the average American and the average Canadian have many points in common. Both countries would be stronger if united; and not only does the simple law just cited urge and demand their union, but Manifest Destiny has pointed to that result for years. The successive acquisitions of Louisiana in 1803, of Florida in 1819, and of the Pacific West in 1846, 1848 and 1853, certainly indicated that the next step in the expansion of the United States would be the absorption of Canada. But just at the time when conditions were ripest for the change, when Canada's tie to England was loosest and republicanism in England was strongest, came the American Civil War. Thus one chapter in the book of progress was for a time omitted, and our

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next acquisition was Alaska, Canada being passed over. It would be fatuous to believe that the plain trend of American ambitions and the tremendous inertia of democracy are to be denied because temporarily diverted. That this union is imminent I do not believe. In general, Canadians to-day manifest no desire for annexation. The psychological moment has not yet come. But time and growth must bring it to pass. The barriers between the two countries are largely fictitious. The incorporation of the lesser into the greater could even now be effected without the slightest disturbance. I say this without forgetting for a moment the many, many points of difference between their respective laws and institutions. But these differences are merely on the surface and are fundamentally traceable to the abnormality of political relations, and would disappear with the adjustment and correction of that condition. The two peoples are much more nearly alike in spirit than are New-Englanders and Texans. Independence for Canada would mean absorption into the United States in a short time, by the plain and free wish of the inhabitants, not by the "gobbling" process of which the wily Mr. Tarte has spoken.

I repeat, the barriers between the two peoples are almost wholly artificial. On the one side, Canadians have felt both abashed and vain—abashed because they were not a nation like their neighbor; proud because the British Empire of which they are a part was greater than that neighbor. On the other side, the Americans have felt, and too freely expressed, good-natured contempt for a people tied to an Old World Power, by apron strings from which they themselves cut loose over a century ago. Hence bickerings and taunts. Upon such trifles are wars waged and nations built.

The most irritating part of these dissonant relations and this separateness is their utter uselessness and folly. In the considerable time in which I have studied Canadian affairs I have been unable to discover wherein the connection of Canada and England was of material value, political or commercial, to either. I am free to go further and declare that, except for the magic in the maxim, "What we have we'll hold," I continue to marvel of what earthly use Canada is to England. Commercially, the Dominion has always got the upper hand in all dealings with the Mother Country, as statisticians grow weary of showing. The

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preferential tariff plan of Mr. Chamberlain, however much it may be misunderstood and opposed, is really a splendid and statesmanlike attempt on his part to make the colonies of some real value to the Mother Country. And yet the tie binding Canada to the Empire has, on the other hand, been of incalculable injury to the Dominion. It has been a fetter—socially, politically and nationally. By union with the United States, Canada would have caught the swing of this exuberant, bustling Republic, and would have grown with much greater rapidity. Colonialism has checked the natural impulse of her people to grow, and it has driven many of her most energetic sons to the States. It has also had the curious effect of leading to the planting of many large industries in Canada by Americans, who thus evaded the tariff which prevented the entrance into the Dominion of goods made in their American factories. This American invasion is a familiar plaint of the Dominion Tories, which is now being repeated often because of the settlement of the Canadian Northwest where, they bitterly cry, "Americans have got in on the ground floor—as usual!"

I do not wish to be understood as declaring a belief that all Canadians, or even a majority, are envious of the United States. There is too much inharmony prevailing between the two countries to expect such feeling. And especially do I disclaim the position of an omniscient interpreter of Canadian sentiment. I wish at this point merely to set forth this opinion (in which I am sustained by almost all the intelligent Canadians with whom I have conversed), that the great mass of the people north of the Great Lakes are, consciously or unconsciously, dissatisfied with their form of government, and regard it as only temporary. It would be unnatural if they should have any other view. Their dissatisfaction can only grow with the growth of civilization and its complexities. It can have but two outlets, independence or annexation; and independence means annexation. Let me speculate to the extent of venturing the suggestion that, barring a world-wide war and terrible crises involving the trading of empires by battle or treaty, Canada will come to the United States—after a brief period of independence.

Let us now turn from the general to the particular in our discussion of the relations between the United States and Canada. Any treatment of this subject would be most incomplete

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which did not include what is, from either an international or a domestic standpoint, the Dominion's most conspicuous if not most important movement—the settlement of the Northwest. I hesitate to declare it the most important for a variety of reasons. It is well to remember that this is the second land boom which that section has had, the first having collapsed most dismally only twenty years ago. That fact must make us cautious in examining the subject. Then, again, I have had some experience with life in a cold farming country, and I am quite well acquainted with the general character of the region into which settlers are now going so rapidly and with such enthusiasm. I fear that Canada's delight in this movement is premature. I cannot be convinced that farming there is beyond the experimental stage. The innumerable, complex trials and the crushing toils of life in a new, cold prairie country are beyond any one's imagination. They confront the immigrant in utterly unexpected forms, and take the courage out of men whom battle, the sea, fire and flood would not daunt. Life there has nothing of the romance which it bears in the mountains or the forest. It lacks some of their terrors, but it has privations, destitutions and, above all, a monotony which is worse than almost any other hardship. The only factor which can make it endurable is financial success, and that is in the Canadian Northwest by no means assured. I do not speak as a pessimist, but only as a cautious observer. I have not been in the Northwest for a few years, and so am not able to speak at first hand of conditions there, but I am fortified in my conservatism by private letters from Manitoba and other sections of that country. Leading men there deprecate the booming of the new lands, lest a reaction and a retreat may make the situation all the more disastrous. It has taken northern North Dakota twenty years to become settled, and to be able to assert with confidence its certain and permanent prosperity. That State has only three months of warm weather, and yet some of the loudly vaunted Canadian land lies 800 miles north of the international boundary! To assert that this far northern land is certainly fruitful and a fit place for human beings is to place a too heavy burden of proof on the boomers. All easy talk of Chinook winds and of varying climatic conditions must be proved very conclusively before the settler with small means can or should be induced to go there. Isothermal lines are too often, inferen-

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tially at least, isothermal lies. It will take ten years, at least, to determine whether the Canadian Northwest is a success. In the mean time, it is the part of wisdom to exercise caution in forming opinions regarding its settlement.

An important feature in this settlement, so far as it has proceeded, is the large percentage of Americans among the immigrants—about thirty per cent. I have seen this movement referred to by socialists, and other against-the-present-order writers, as a complete refutation of the prevalent impression as to the prosperity of the Middle West. Such an argument is fundamentally erroneous. These American immigrants are not at all poor. The majority of them are, as Westerners say, "well-fixed." Many of them have retained their homes and property in the States, and have gone into the Northwest for investment or to secure cheap land for their sons. It is the very prosperity of our Western farmers which has so increased the value of land that making a start in life as landowner has become much more difficult than it was twenty or even ten years ago. While I personally deprecate the judgment of these Americans in going further north, when so much rich land in the South is offered for settlement in congenial surroundings at very low prices, and indeed is already attracting the attention and securing the investment funds of people of our Northwest, the Americans who are going into northwest Canada are by no means going there because they have failed in this country.

Now, until the experiment of farming in Alberta, Saskatchewan, etc., has been fairly tried, it were idle to speculate upon the political effect of the American invasion of that region. But, granting that the new lands prove one-half as satisfactory and remunerative as the boomers boast, and that increasing numbers of Americans settle there, I can see nothing to justify the fear that a sentiment disloyal to the Dominion may find root there—that there may grow up a sort of Acre in Canada. In the first place, the percentage of Americans is not great enough to menace seriously the remainder. Some of these Americans will only buy land and will retain their American citizenship. The others will enter public land and must, of course, become British subjects; and, while it may hurt every one of them deeply to swear away his American birthright, they will all settle down contentedly into the ways and customs of the country. That is the American

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plan. They may chafe and laugh a bit at Canadian institutions and the Imperial Fuss and Feathers, but the sentiment and the raillery will be all good-natured. These are ready-made, solid citizens, pioneers and leaders of civilization. The very fact that they can find Canada and Canadians so much to their liking is abundant proof of the homogeneity of the two countries and the inevitableness of their ultimate consolidation. The Americans feel this, and it makes their alien condition seem of a temporary character. Another factor in this quick adjustment is the good feeling now prevailing between the United States and Great Britain. These American invaders of Canada do not stop for a moment to consider the possibility of war between the two Powers—the suggestion is too absurd. The only class likely to disturb the harmonious relations now existing among the various nationalities in the Northwest is the English immigrants. By their lack of experience with a cold, pioneer country, the irrepressible English tendency to find fault, and their inability to adjust themselves to the new conditions, they may cause some dissatisfaction there and in England, but no international ill-feeling is likely to result.

I repeat, therefore, that the settlement of Canada's Northwest by Americans involves no political danger either to the Dominion or to the Empire. On the contrary, it will be of incalculable benefit to both. There is no aspect in which it bodes ill to Canada if—and it is a big word—the lands prove rich and habitable. Nor do I anticipate any disturbance to Canada, nationally, from the rapid settlement of that region by any race likely to go there. Wiseacres have predicted that the "British Empire will break its back over the Rocky Mountains," but that seems to be mere rhetoric. The same prediction was made in regard to the United States. Of course, new and strange conditions would arise if the western part of the Dominion should quickly become the greater in population. Naturally, its wishes in regard to tariff and other regulations would clash somewhat with those of the more thickly settled provinces, but not more so than the various parts of the United States clash and wrangle when a tariff bill is being framed at Washington. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, greatest of all Canadian statesmen, has already recognized the necessity of meeting the desires of the Northwest by his new Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad bill, by which a second trans-

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continental line will be built, especially for the purpose of giving a quicker outlet, as well as an all-Canadian route, for West Canadian produce. Doubtless, this line is also intended to weld the Dominion more firmly together. It may fail in that regard, but it may win a more glorious victory in bringing the American government into a realization of the necessity of a better and more friendly sentiment toward the Dominion.

Consideration of Canada West naturally brings us back to the Alaskan Boundary. The subject is just now no longer embarrassing, but of much felicity to Americans, Canadians and Englishmen. In fact, the most amazing, and at first blush an inexplicable, feature of these Alaskan negotiations is this felicity—the general feeling on both sides of the Great Lakes and the ocean that, in our happy vernacular, "this time it is a go!" In spite of the fact that it is a three to three court, which looks calamitously like a tie vote, the public expects a speedy verdict after years of fruitless negotiation, and that the execution of the verdict will be accomplished without mutiny or revolt. Nothing new has happened to change any opinion; no secret alliance has been concluded between Great Britain and the United States, by which Canada is to lose or gain mightily in exchange for a tremendous something-or-other; no new maps have been discovered; no new gold deposits have been found; and even the arguments in the case, a digest of which has appeared in this country, contain practically nothing new. With all the circumstances promising a continuance of the disagreement and with a court apparently built to bring in a disagreement, we are all sure of an agreement. Whether the public believes that the time has come for each party to waive all petty objections and seek a verdict by making all possible compromises, or whether higher authorities have already decided the case and the commission is merely intended to register that decision, or whether there may be some other explanation, we may never know. One fact stands out clearly. It is the astonishing amount of ignorance in the two countries in regard to the respective claims of their governments to the territory in dispute. Canadians simply refuse to read the arguments, and take it for granted that their own side is right and that the United States is trying to bully the smaller country into giving away valuable land to which the latter's title is clear. Americans presume that the source of all the trouble is the desire of the

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"Canucks" to get hold of some land to which they never dreamed of asserting a claim until the British lodestone—gold—was found in that neighborhood. The Canadians do not know that their case rests largely upon the doughty pretensions of a military chieftain, who seized some land without stopping to inquire of maps or treaties whose it was. Americans applaud enthusiastically the sentiment that "the United States will never give up a foot of soil upon which the flag floats," and yet know nothing of our title to that soil. What Canadians have sought most is an all-Canadian route to the sea, to secure control of the Pacific Ocean inlets. What the United States has talked chiefly about is not giving up any land. Yet it is hinted that the award of the judges will be that the United States will give up some land, and that Canada will not secure the heads of the inlets. In other words, neither country knows the grounds of its pretensions and each is likely to find its particular claim stultified by the outcome. Let us trust that the best hopes for peace of Americans and Canadians will be abundantly rewarded and realized in the verdict, that the maps and treaties, the purposes and not the quibbles of the early diplomats will rule the judges in reaching their decision. Whether the judgment is pre-determined or not, we cannot but welcome the settlement. The abolition of petty differences between the United States and the British nation is one of the necessities of civilization and progress.

But this Alaskan boundary settlement cannot be final or sufficient. Canada cannot continue to be half-free, half-slave; half-nation, and half-subject colony. The intricacies into which her anomalous existence is leading her grow more labyrinthal day by day. It is idle for her statesmen to talk and dream of her growing to be "the greater half of the continent." The trend of history and precedent, aided as in this case by the inertia of democracy, cannot be checked. Canada belongs to the United States, and by the will of her people she must some day be a great, proud, and welcome addition to the Union.

FRANK B. TRACY.

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COLLEGE TRAINING AND THE BUSINESS MAN.

BY PRESIDENT CHARLES F. THWING, LL.D., WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY AND ADELBERT COLLEGE.

THE world is becoming a vast industrial condition. The basis of society is changed from the military and the domestic to the economic and industrial. The conquest of the world by aggressive peoples is now made rather through the locomotive and the steel-bridge than through the rifle. In this condition the United States is a leading power. But these industrial forces which spread themselves round the world are the strongest at home. The United States is both a vast machine-shop and a vast farm; and what lies between the shop and the farm is covered by equally vast systems of railroads. These conditions are formed into great combinations of individuals and of capital. From the individual to the partnership, from the partnership to the corporation, from the corporation to the combination of corporations commonly known as the trust, is the order of development.

This industrial process and also the unifying process in industry will undoubtedly continue. A great financier of New York has recently said that the uniting of banks and financial institutions would continue, if men could be found to manage the resulting combinations.

To this condition, therefore, in which the United States finds itself, as a manager of enormous business interests, what is the relation of the American college? What can the American college do to make these interests more worthy of humanity, and more helpful to the noblest and richest life? What, too, can the American college do to make these business interests themselves more efficient and more remunerative?

The principal means which the American college can use in helping the industrial condition, lies in the furnishing of well-

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equipped workers. But some affirm that the college does not equip, much less well equip, its graduates to be workers in the world's hard work. A leader in American industrial life says:

"I do not think that the college graduate has any advantages in entering business over the graduate of a high or grammar-school. My preference has always been for boys to come to me direct from school and at the age of eighteen, because my experience has shown me that the four years spent in college are not worth as much to him, if he is to become a business man or manufacturer, as the same time in actual business experience. The average college graduate is apt to feel that he is so educated that he is disinclined to begin at the bottom; or, if the case is exceptional and the young man is willing to begin on the lowest round of the ladder, he often becomes discouraged by seeing younger fellows in positions several years in advance of him. There is a great deal to be gained by the discipline of daily life that comes with drudgery, such as the washing of ink-stands, cleaning windows, carrying bundles, and sweeping out the store, although, unfortunately for the boy's own good, the conditions are such at the present day that he is not called upon to do that work as was the custom a generation ago. I used to say that I did not care to hire a boy who owned a dress suit. Of course, there are exceptions; but, if one wants to succeed as a business man, he must begin by making sacrifices, and anything which shows a tendency toward extravagance is not a promising indication. I would advise a boy of eighteen who wants to become a merchant, business man, or a distributor of products, to go into the business at that age and not go to college. I would not, however, underrate a college education. For a lawyer, a doctor, an engineer, or a successful member of any of the other learned professions, I believe the university education is almost a necessity. The primary object of all education should be to teach boys and girls how to provide for themselves food, clothing, and shelter."

The proposition which I desire to support is, that the graduate of the American college, other things or qualities being the same, is best fitted to administer the great industrial movement. He is the one who, on the whole, can most wisely lead and most effectively carry forward the business interests of the United States.

In order to get a fair field for our discussion, it may be just as well at once to clear away certain difficulties. Let me say at once that certain boys should not go to college. Boys who dislike study should not go, for they are in peril of becoming social rebels and pessimists. Boys who cannot bear freedom should not go, for they are in peril of becoming slaves to unworthy habits. Boys who are lazy should not go, for they are in peril of adopting a soft,

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luxurious life, which it is difficult to throw off and which ill becomes the hard worker in the workaday world of the new America. Of course, the number of boys of these three classes is not small. The going to a college is not a question touching the mass, it is a question touching the individual. Whether the son of a family should or should not go to college, is a question as personal as was the question whether the parents of that son should in the first place become husband and wife.

It is also evident that certain business callings demand a technical training. This training may be given, in part at least, through a college of liberal learning, or it may be given through a technical or scientific school. The work of the engineer, civil, mechanical, electrical, demands such a training. This training is as necessary to the engineer as is the training in law to the lawyer, or in medicine to the physician. Whether the engineer, before taking his technical studies, should first have the advantage of a general college course is a question which does not immediately relate to the present discussion, although be it said in passing that opinion is coming to favor the view that the technical school is purely a professional school.

The present discussion, moreover, does not concern the general advantages of a college course. These advantages, in the form of making desirable friendships, promoting a high type of the gentleman, inspiring one to nobler service for society and the state, no one seeks to depreciate. They are great. Even were there no other results, they would make the college course worth while to most men. A graduate who entered the cattle business, in which, too, he was not successful, says of his college course:

> "I think I am safe in saying that if I had the decision to make over again I should again take the college education. It may not make great returns on the investment, in actual money, but to the man who has the taste and determination it makes, I feel, adequate returns in the enlarged field he is given for the pursuits of his life with happiness to himself, and with some benefit to those about him."

Now to the main proposition: The college man in business is worth more than the same man would be without a college education. The elements that go to make up the value of the business man to his business are many; and the elements which go to make up the value of the college to the student are also many.

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First of them all is the intellectual element. The leader in a great business primarily needs, of all the intellectual parts, the power to think. "What do the men whom you employ," I asked the manager of one of the great industrial combinations, "need the most?" "Brains" was the prompt answer. "What do those men lack," I said to a great manufacturer of steel and iron products? "Accuracy, the power to take a large view and to investigate thoroughly," was the reply. The merchant and the manufacturer are called on to analyze and synthesize phenomena, to relate fact to fact and truth to truth, to assess every fact or truth at its proper value, to determine the significance of the symbol, to reason logically, to relate principle to rule and rule to principle, to trace effect to cause, to distinguish the essential from the accidental, and to hold the necessary and essential under a large variety of conditions and circumstances.

These are the very intellectual qualities which the college is supposed to discipline. The knowledge which one gains in college is of no or small consequence. In fact, knowledge as an end is vastly over-estimated in all educational judgments, and knowledge as a means to power is as vastly underestimated. Two friends of mine have recently said to me, in answer to my question regarding the good of a college course to them, that it consists in the cultivation of the primary intellectual quality of thinking. One says: "College training teaches one to go to work at any task with system and method, in the consciousness that one has acquired the ability to *think* through, quickly and logically, the questions which come up"; and another says: "College training has enabled me to appreciate more fully and to practise more diligently precision and system. Unless I am very much mistaken the close of my academic life finds me much stronger from the point of view both of synthesis and of analysis."

The men now at the head of great industrial corporations believe that this intellectual quality is of great value. Mr. W. F. Merrill, First Vice-President of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company says:

"It has been my experience that men with a college education make better help than men of about the came calibre who have not had that advantage, when they get to a point where their experience warrants putting them into advanced positions; and that it does not take them so long a time to get to a point where they can be safely promoted. A college

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education gives a young man habits of study and application which are invaluable. He learns how to use his brains to better advantage than one who has not had that training. You might just as well say that an apprenticeship is of no value to a man who is going to follow a particular trade as to say, in the case of a man who is going to use his brains, it is not an advantage to him that he should learn how to use them logically by study. Brains are capable of development the same as muscles, and there is nothing that I know of that will develop brains any faster than systematic study. A well-trained mind thinks more quickly and reaches results more speedily and more accurately."*

In the personality of the individual student the chief effect of the college is intellectual, and the chief element in this effect is the increase in what, in a comprehensive and general way, one calls the power of thinking. But this is not the only effect. Intellectual elements do not alone constitute the causes that promote the prosperity of the individual or of the community. Some would say that volitional, emotional, ethical elements constitute causes more important than the intellectual. It is certainly true that a strong will makes as much toward the advancement of one or of all as a clear intellect. For in a strong will are embodied ambition, diligence, persistence,—qualities most valuable. Some would also say that an honest conscience is as important as either clear intellect or strong will.

Now, the training of the will in the college is a thing much more difficult to accomplish than the training of the intellect. For the will is trained by doing, and doing is not the primary function of the college, though it is one of its functions. This inability of the college to train the will in adequate ways is the chief cause of the impression that a college education is of no advantage to the business man, the man whose life consists so largely in doing things. But let no one suppose that the college does nothing in the training of the will. Every effort of the student to master a scholastic problem is an act of the will. Every decision he makes for better or for worse is an act of the will. All co-operative endeavors of college men, and such endeavors are numerous and of great variety, represent the executive function. Not a few men in every college class get larger training for their will than for their intellect.

But now reverts the question of intellectual relations. Let it

* "The Utility of an Academic Education: an Investigation," by R. T. Crane, p. 27.

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be granted that the modern business man does need the power of thinking. How does the college increase this power more effectively than business itself?

Thinking is an art. It is, of course, also, a science. But for the college man it is primarily an art. An art is learned by practising it. Thinking is, therefore, learned by thinking. It represents habits of intellectual accuracy, discrimination, comparison, concentration. Such habits are formed by being accurate, discriminating, and by the actual concentration of the mind. A course in education promotes such thinking better than a course in business. For education represents orderliness and system in intellectual effort. The effort proceeds by certain graduated steps, from the easy to the less easy, from the difficult to the more difficult. The purpose is to train in the valuation of principles, which underlie all service, and not in the worth of rules, which are of special and narrow application. The man trained only in business of one kind is not fitted to take up business of a different kind. The broadly trained man is prepared to learn business of any kind, and if business of one kind has been learned, he is able to leave it to take up work of another kind without difficulty. The practice of any art should make the one who practises this art a better thinker in it; but this advantage relates in a large degree to one who has first approached the art through thinking.

I suppose it may be said that the man who is self-educated is usually very narrowly educated. He is educated along and in certain lines. He is educated, so to speak, tangentially. His thinking, too, is usually tangential. It lacks comprehensiveness and a sense of relations. It has force, and the endeavors which spring out of it are forceful; but breadth is sacrificed.

Many and of much variety are the methods adopted to relieve the individual of the necessity of educating himself. Schools of correspondence and evening schools have their place, and for not a few the place is large. So thoroughly worth while are these forms of education that they should be promoted, their weaknesses eliminated and their points of strength conserved. But the peril against which one is to be on guard in these more or less informal methods is the peril of substituting knowledge for thinking, information for personal inspiration, formal content of learning for large power of achievement.

These perils inhere alike in the more popular and informal

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methods of education and in that technical and commercial education which the individual gets in business. The education of the college and university seeks to avoid these perils. The university offers opportunities for reasoning and for thinking of all kinds, degrees, orders. It sets forth the exact reasoning of the mathematical sciences—sciences in which things are as they are, as Bishop Butler says, and must be as they must be. It thus confirms the habit of intellectual conviction. It sets forth the general reasoning of language, literature, history and philosophy, in which truth is to be separated from truth for seeing each more clearly, in which truth is to be united with truth for establishing both more firmly. It uses analysis and synthesis. It uses deductive reasoning and inductive reasoning. It recognizes the uncertainties attending intellectual judgments; a recognition which fixes a habit of intellectual humility. It seeks to assess each fact at its proper value, to use right methods of intellectual procedure, to maintain each faculty of man's whole being in the performance of its proper function, without interference from other faculties, and to bring forth a well-ordered character as the consummate result.

In this endeavor the content of knowledge plays a less important part than is commonly believed. Content of knowledge for intellectual processes is somewhat akin to content of food for physical processes; the purpose is not to retain the content, but to convert the content into health and power. In the intellectual relation, too, as in the physical, one's appetite is a pretty good guide for the selection of content. Certainly no other guide is so good, or so little unworthy, unworthy as at times it may prove to be. To choose certain courses of study in college because one does *not* like them, on the ground that the dislike represents a certain lack of nature which these studies may help to fill, may have a certain degree, though small, of reasonableness. Such choices are medicines. Medicines are necessary, if one be sick. But the mind of the college man should be treated as if it were in a state of health. It, therefore, needs, not medicine, but food. To choose courses of study in college because one does like them, represents the hygienic process of assimilation which results in strength, health, growth.

It will usually be found, too, that studies thus chosen are most directly preparatory to one's probable calling in life. For the

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desire which determines the choice of studies also determines the choice of a vocation. President Eliot writes of his son, Charles:

"He arrived at the end of his Senior year without having any distinct vision of the profession which awaited him, neither he nor his father having perceived his special gifts. Nevertheless, it turned out, after he had settled with joy on his profession, that, if he had known at the beginning of his Sophomore year what his profession was to be, he could not have selected his studies better than he did with only the guidance of his likings and natural interests. He took during his last three years in college all the courses in fine arts which were open to him; he subsequently found his French and German indispensable for wide reading in the best literature of his profession; his studies in science supplied both training and information appropriate to his calling; and history and political economy were useful to him as culture studies and for their social bearings."*

The college course which Charles Eliot took was on the whole a broad and a broadening one. It was not so broad that it became thin or a means of intellectual dissipation. The broad course is always in peril of becoming a little thin and the narrow course of becoming narrowing. A course can safely to a degree become narrow in case a man knows the channel in which his life is to flow. But most men do not so know. "I am to-day thirty years old, I graduate as a mechanical engineer. I now know I do not want to be a mechanical engineer. I want to be a lawyer." So said a student on the Commencement Day of his Scientific School. Ignorance of one's abilities or desires or opportunities should lead one to a broad course of study in the college. Even many of the great manufacturing corporations prefer the liberally to the technically trained graduate. Said a member of a great corporation which builds steel mills round the world:

"The man of liberal education is, on the whole, worth more to us than the man of technical training. He is worth less for a year or two after coming to us, but he has a power for learning all branches of our business which are specially needed."

The peril of overeducation, for those who are to enter business, is a peril in the existence of which I find not a few "captains of industry" believe. By overeducation is meant an education of the intellect which fits the individual to do a higher work than is

* "Charles Eliot: Landscape Architect," pp. 28-29.

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actually open to him, or a higher work than his other faculties fit him to do. The point at which this danger touches the college relates to the equilibrium of personal forces. The college may draw too heavily on the intellectual resources of the individual. Strength, which in the course of his college career he should have given to the will, the conscience, the heart, the body, may have been given to the intellect. As a result, the graduate may come forth from the college halls bearing a mind disciplined to think, but lacking the power of body or of will to use this disciplined mind. He is like an engine, perfect in every part, but without sufficient steam. Mr. S. R. Callaway, formerly President of the New York Central Railroad, writes me that a friend of the late Commodore Vanderbilt bore to him from Lord Palmerston a message that it was "a pity a man with so much talent had not the advantages which education gives." "You tell Lord Palmerston from me," said the Commodore, "that if I had learned education I would not have had time to learn anything else." It is a story beneath the humor of which, says Mr. Callaway, "lies more or less of reality." The peril of the overeducation of the intellect is simply the peril of the undereducation of the will, of the conscience, of the heart, of the body. This peril is to be avoided not so much by lessening the education of the intellect as by increasing the education of the body, the heart, conscience and will. The members of the British cabinets of the last twenty-five years illustrate the advantage of a well-proportioned education. All have been, with hardly an exception, graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge; not a few have been honor men. One never forgets Gladstone with his double first-class. But besides whatever intellectual power they possessed, they have been men of great strength of body, and of distinct force of will. Unique strength of character has not segregated them from their fellows. They have been at once commanders and servants, men and gentlemen, golf-players and thinkers.

Business of every sort requires men of power: power of intellect, to think; of will, to do; of conscience, to right; of heart, to appreciate; of body, to begin and to endure. Some men possess these manifold powers more largely without a liberal education than other men with a liberal education. But the purpose of the college is not to make men equal, but to develop each to his utmost capacity of development. As a rule, both the ablest men and the

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men not ablest by nature would become still more able by reason of a liberal education. This is the meaning, I take it, of Professor Elihu Thompson, who writes saying:

"The boy who does not go to college enters business life earlier, gets an early start, and perhaps loses less of the power of adaptation to his surroundings. The older a man is, the less pliable he becomes; but men differ very widely in this particular—some crystallize very early, others only in advanced age. Nevertheless, I *do* think that in the great majority of cases whatever disadvantage is at first suffered is more than made up in the end. I can see no reason why higher education should prevent or lessen success in business affairs, which success depends upon good judgment and energy. In manufacturing, and I think to an increasing extent in most business undertakings, a training which leans toward the scientific and technical will, I believe, be of the greatest value. This involves mathematical proficiency in greater or less degree; not mathematics as an abstraction, but in relation to the concrete realities."

And another says:

"If a young man forms no bad habits during his college course, he can well afford to invest four years' time in return for the college friendships, and, more especially, the taste for reading, for study, and the higher and better things of life; and if he accomplishes no more than acquiring such tastes, his time will be well spent in the pleasure and satisfaction that he will receive throughout his life, and in his ability, when he is able to do so, to retire from active business, without feeling that he can enjoy nothing but business. A young man of ability, strong, tactful, determined to succeed, will succeed, with or without a college education; and if he has to work his own way through college so much the better for him, for he starts with a distinct advantage over his fellow-students. Such a young man as I have described will soon overtake those that started in business four years before he did, and his mental training should give him a marked advantage over those that have not received it."

This question of the value of a college training to the man entering business I have discussed simply on the narrow basis of the commercial service. Of course there is another basis, and one which some would call more important. One of my correspondents speaks of a college course as fitting one "to better discern and like all that is noble and beautiful in life;" and another: "College education ought to make him a more reasonable man, and to increase his capacity for enjoyment throughout life." These are values in themselves; and, if one were inclined to urge

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the point, one could show that these values have also commercial worth.

One also may be allowed to say that if civilization is to advance it is to advance, not through the selfward tendency of the individual and of individual effort, be that tendency either material or intellectual or ethical, but also through altruistic movements. One likes to quote Burke's words: "Society is a partnership in all science, a partnership in all art, a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection." It is a partnership including generations yet unborn. As one reflects on the condition of the present age, as one reflects on the life of the future centuries, one realizes that the higher life of the whole race has claims upon those who live in the first decade of the twentieth century. That chief claim is to make large men.

This discussion is made forceful by liberal extracts from a few of the many letters written to me by the heads of great business corporations touching the value of a college training. The first which I submit is from Mr. Hugh J. Chisholm, President of the International Paper Company:

"I regard a man equipped with a college education, two years' technical and two years' law-school training, as the best-equipped material to build upon, if he is entering into and expecting to follow a manufacturing, mercantile, or banking business; and, after a man trained in this way gets the practical knowledge of the business in which he engages, he has a better combination of qualities than the man possessing knowledge acquired from practical encountering or conducting of any of the above referred to lines of business, whose education is confined to that which he has received from the high school. The very serious objection, however, to acquiring such a college education as outlined above, is the time it consumes, assuming that it takes from four to six years as the shortest time possible to so equip a young man. The boy who leaves the high school and commences at once from that point to get practical knowledge of the business or commercial life, has certainly an advantage later in life when he encounters the college graduate who is just commencing his business career, and by the lack of this practical, technical knowledge, the college graduate is handicapped when brought in competition with the young man who has devoted his time to the learning of the business into which he may have entered. But, assuming that they both possess equal mental and physical ability, in the four or six years following, the college graduate ought to excel the young man whose education has been confined to the high school. In my judgment, the college presidents of the present day have no more serious problem to intelligently and practically work out than that of

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properly establishing a course of studies in the great colleges of this country, which will take into consideration how best to educate and equip that portion of their students who intend to follow a commercial calling rather than a profession, realizing, as every thinking man does to-day, the great demand that has been created for the highest type of intellectual ability, integrity, and executive ability, necessary to manage successfully and honestly the great amount of capital that has been and is being concentrated in the large industrial corporations of this country."

John W. Dunn, President of the International Steam Pump Company, says:

"Although I did not myself enjoy the benefits of a college education, having left school at an early age to go to work for my living, I do not share the prejudice against a college education which is expressed by some of our self-made men. I believe that the theoretical foundation which a young man receives at a well-conducted college can be of great use to him in after-life, provided that on leaving college he is willing to begin at the bottom of the ladder to learn practically any business he may choose to enter upon, without bringing with him any false idea that the learning that he has acquired from his books and his professors absolves him from going through precisely the same course of practical training that he would have had to undergo if he had gone directly from school or high school to a shop or factory. We have in our various companies a number of young men who are graduates of the various technical institutes, and whom we are willing to assist in making their way, provided they are content to begin as common operatives, like any ordinary working-man who is to earn his living. To any young man who is content to take up his work in this frame of mind, I believe that a professional education will be of great value after he had thoroughly mastered the practical details of his work, and familiarized himself with those matters which can only be acquired by actual experience, and by actual contact with business and with men. Any young man, however, who is imbued with a belief that because he has gone through college he has nothing further to learn, and is superior to the necessities which those who have had no such advantages are compelled to recognize, will find that his college education is not only of no benefit to him, but is a positive hindrance to his success in life. My observation of young men, in whom I have always taken a great deal of interest, has led me to believe that the main reason why so many college men are not as successful in business as others who have only had the very plainest rudiments of an education is, that by reason of the species of conceit to which I have just referred their minds are closed to those sources of instruction and training which they would otherwise gladly avail themselves of, and to which the success of most of our self-made men is in a considerable measure due. I believe that all of our best colleges recognize the truth of what I have just said, and take pains to instil

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it into the minds of their students. That is to say, they impress upon them that when they leave college they have not learned everything there is to know, but are only on the threshold, and that the advantages they have had over other men will not avail them unless they apply themselves to their business with the same energy, fidelity, and perseverance that those other men habitually employ."

Mr. J. Ogden Armour, of Chicago, through his secretary states:

"That, in his opinion, the solution of this question, as far as commercial success is concerned, is not so much one of the abstract value of advanced education, as compared with that obtained in the public schools, as it is of adaptability to the chosen pursuit of the student. He, of course, recognizes the very great value of a complete education, but he thinks it is to be largely measured, in relation to success in commercial affairs, by the trustworthiness, ambition, and perseverance that accompany it. With these fundamental qualifications, and others which naturally suggest themselves, opportunities for a successful career would unquestionably occur. Mr. Armour's action regarding employees in his own business is practically wholly independent of the possession by them of exceptional educational advantages. He does not, however, desire to underrate the desirability of the highest education possible, but thinks that commercial success is chiefly dependent upon qualifications which may or may not accompany exceptional scholastic attainment."

Mr. Wyerhaeuser of Wyerhaeuser & Company, of St. Paul, writes:

"The disadvantages under which a college graduate labors when he enters business are that he is pretty well advanced towards manhood, is awkward, has had no business training, and is apt to think that because he is a college graduate he ought not be obliged to commence at the bottom of the ladder and work up, as the office boy does who enters the office when he is fourteen years of age. If he is a man of good sense and does not think too much of his college education, by the time he is forty years of age he has a great many advantages over the boy who left school at eighteen, and it must be a source of great satisfaction to him during his life that he has had the benefit of a college education. I, by all means, would recommend to a boy who is inclined to study, a course in some good college. He certainly, in the course of time, will find that he is amply repaid for it. The boy who is bright and starts in business after graduating from the high school will, for the first ten years, get along much better and be happier than the man who has spent four or five years attending college, and may have made a good start towards laying the foundation for a profitable business long before the college man gets an insight into the business. Still, I think

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the college graduate, by the time he reaches seventy, would have had the most satisfactory life, and, perhaps, would be fully as successful as the man who has not been fortunate enough to possess a college education."

Mr. Powell Stackhouse, of the Cambria Steel Company, says:

"I hold that a young man of proper physical and mental balance cannot be overeducated. In the manufacture of steel (and the same is true of any modern manufacturing operations), a thorough technical education is an essential, as without it a limit of advancement will sooner or later be reached. In the commercial line it may not be so essential, but is a great advantage. It is true that there are many notable men who, without the advantages of a technical education, have risen to the top of their profession; these are the exceptions in many thousands, and are only such as have the natural ability, coupled with great perseverance and the self-denial afterwards to educate themselves, and they cannot be raised as objections, but as an incentive to a thorough college education. It does not follow by any means that because a young man has passed a college life with credit, he will necessarily be a success in any line he may select. He has only been furnished with the mental tools to work with, and their after application depends upon his use and the opportunities thereby afforded. Any failure of a young man to secure the most advanced education he possibly can must in some time of his future life operate detrimentally."

Such testimonies I might call to great number and length. But enough has been said to prove that the managers of the great business undertakings of the present and of the future will receive large advantage from the college. To the merchant, the manufacturer and the administrator the college offers an understanding more comprehensive, a sense of relationship more just, as well as a training of the will more adequate for large undertakings. The college helps to create the man of soberminded-ness, of personal resolution, who is intent on things of the mind. It aids, let us believe, in nourishing the noblest type of the gentleman. But, while causing these richest personal results, it is also training great executives for the great affairs of the United States and of the world.

CHARLES F. THWING.

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THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE POPE

BY JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY, ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

AMONG the rulers of the earth, the Pope occupies a peculiar position, which is as unique in the realm of international law as the Papacy itself in the realm of religion. In the eyes of international law, the Holy See is not a sovereign state; for the very definition of a state implies the possession of territory, and when the Popes were deprived of the temporal sovereignty which they had for centuries exercised over a part of Italy, the Holy See ceased to be a member of the family of nations. The Pope is no longer head of a temporal state, but he is still Sovereign Pontiff, he is still head of that great Church which commands the loyalty of two-fifths of Christendom.

The position of head of the Church, as Monsieur Bonfils says in his book on International Law, is not a local dignity. It is not Italian; it is universal. It has an essentially international character. Infallible legislator in matters of dogma and morals, supreme regulator of ecclesiastical discipline, chief of the hosts of the Church, the Pope, by the very force of circumstances, frequently intervenes in the internal affairs of a number of states. But those nations of which the population is partly or wholly Catholic cannot allow the Pope to be the subject of any ruler. The Pope should be free and emancipated from subjection to any Government whatever. The Sovereign Pontiff cannot be the subject of any state.

Consequently, although the Popes have been deprived of their Papal States, although by loss of territory the Supreme Pontiff has ceased to be a reigning sovereign of a temporal state, yet, by the general consent of the Powers, he is treated as a sovereign. He has the right to send and to receive diplomatic representa-

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tives, and, moreover, at certain courts the Apostolic Nuncio has precedence over other ambassadors.

It is not only the so-called Catholic countries which maintain diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Even the Tzar of Russia, the official head of the Russian Church, has found it convenient to have a diplomatic representative at the Papal Court; and stout Protestant dynasties, like those of Holland and of Prussia, have seen the advantage of maintaining diplomatic relations with the Head of that Church which numbers so many of their subjects in its communion.

England does not maintain an embassy at the Vatican, but on special occasions she has sent missions to the Pope, as at the time of the late Pontiff's Jubilee, when the Duke of Norfolk conveyed to His Holiness the good wishes of Queen Victoria.

The United States maintained a legation at the Papal Court up to the time of the loss of the Papal States. Since that period, regular diplomatic relations have ceased between the Vatican and Washington, although recently it was found necessary to send a special mission to consult with the Pope in regard to affairs in the Philippines.

A number of the South-American republics also have ministers accredited to the Pope. The Argentine is represented there by the distinguished jurist, Dr. Carlos Calvo. The Brazilian Minister was, until very recently, Dr. J. A. Ferreira da Costa, the talented diplomatist whose agreeable personality made such a pleasant impression in this country while he was in the Brazilian Legation at Washington.

The attitude of Italy toward the Holy See is indicated by the Italian Law of May 13th, 1871. That law does not acknowledge in the Pope the quality of sovereignty, but it offers him guarantees of inviolability and the honors due a sovereign.

"The person of the Sovereign Pontiff," according to this law, "is sacred and inviolable. The Italian Government, within the territory of the kingdom, will render sovereign honors to the Sovereign Pontiff, and will uphold the pre-eminence of honor which is accorded him by Catholic Sovereigns."

Other articles of the law give assurances of the respect and immunity to be enjoyed by the diplomatic representatives accredited to the Vatican, and by the representatives of the Holy See, while on Italian territory.

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Article XII. declares that the Pope may correspond freely with the episcopate, and with the entire Catholic world, without interference from the Italian Government, and that facilities shall be given for the establishment at the Vatican of special post and telegraph offices managed by Papal authority.

This law of May 13th, 1871, known as the "law of guarantees," is simply a declaration by the Italian Government of its attitude in regard to the Holy See. The Powers, fearing to burn their fingers, refused to take any part in regulating the relations of the Vatican and Quirinal, and, as for the Popes, they have steadfastly ignored both the "law of guarantees" and the annual pension of half a million dollars offered by the Italian Government.

The Vatican does not officially recognize the Quirinal, although it is sometimes necessary to hold unofficial negotiations.

The Pope, although deprived of his temporal possessions, still receives royal honors, sends and receives ambassadors, treats with temporal sovereigns on equal terms, and is one of the great factors in the world's politics. It may even be said that his authority has been purified and increased since he has ceased to be a petty prince of Italy.

The power and authority of the Pope has never been commensurate with the temporal possessions of the Holy See. As Leo the Great said, nearly fifteen centuries ago: "To Rome, exalted by the preaching of the Chief of the Apostles, there has been appointed a spiritual dominion wider than her earthly sway."

The Pope claimed authority over the world, not on account of his small lands in Italy, but in his character as Vicar of Christ. As in man the spirit rules the flesh, so in the world the spiritual power claimed authority over the fleshly or temporal power. Long was the struggle for supremacy between the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and the Pontiffs of the Holy Roman Church. The Emperor claimed to be the Vicar of God in temporal matters. The Pope claimed to be the Vicar of Christ in spiritual affairs. Both were raised high above all other monarchs. But which should be supreme—the temporal or the spiritual?

The writers of the Middle Ages saw in the two swords, spoken of by Saint Luke, the symbol of the Empire and the Holy See. The disciples said unto Christ, "Lord, behold here are two swords"; and he said unto them, "It is enough." The Lord had given the two swords for the protection of Christendom. The

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spiritual sword was confided to the Pope, the temporal sword to the Emperor. The Popes claimed that both these swords belong to the Pope; one he wields in person, the other he intrusts to Emperors and Kings—but always for the defence of the Church and under the direction of the Pontiff.

Moreover, it was at the hands of the Pope that the Emperor received his imperial crown and investiture. The Emperor was but the Pope's delegate. The Empire, the highest expression of earthly power, was dependent upon the Holy See. The Pontiff was the dispenser of crowns to monarchs, the Lord Paramount to whom all the rulers of the earth owed homage and obedience.

The Popes claimed the right to crown monarchs and to depose them. They claimed the power to absolve vassals from the oath of allegiance to their king. Naturally, the Emperor was disposed to protest against this assumption of superiority; but some of the smaller temporal princes found the pretensions of the Pope a valuable weapon to use against their temporal suzerain, the Emperor.

The struggle for supremacy between the temporal power and the spiritual power went on with varying fortune. William the Conqueror refused to do homage to Gregory for the newly-conquered England, yet some of his successors on the English throne paid tribute to Rome and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.

There is a scene in the courtyard of Matilda's castle where a penitent Emperor stood, barefooted and woollen-frocked, on the snow for three days and three nights imploring the pardon of the Pope; and there is another scene where we see the same proud Pontiff ending his days in misery and exile, cast down by the hand of the Emperor.

Frederick Barbarossa struggled against the Papal claims to supremacy, and refused to hold the Pontiff's stirrup as the Emperor Lothar had done. The struggle was long and bitter; yet when Pope and Emperor met in Venice, at the suggestion of the Doge, the great Frederick knelt in sudden awe before the Vicar of Christ, and the Pope raised him up and kissed him with the kiss of peace. Three slabs of red marble in the porch of Saint Mark's show the spot where the temporal power thus abandoned the contest, though it were but for a season; and in the ducal palace there used to hang a picture of the scene, but the painter

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had added to the facts of history and had represented the Pontiff as placing his foot upon the neck of the prostrate Emperor, saying: "The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

From the time of Gregory VII., the Popes began to take first rank. The age was intensely religious, and readily accepted the idea that the spiritual power should rank above the temporal power. The opinion grew that the Pope was the first sovereign in Christendom, to whom all other sovereigns owed homage. Even champions of the Imperial power, like Dante, admitted that "the Emperor, sovereign in the secular domain, depends in certain points upon the Pope; for terrestrial welfare is of an order lower than celestial welfare, and Cæsar should, therefore, show to Peter the respect which the first-born should show to his father."

The Emperors themselves did not dare to assume the Imperial crown except at the hands of a Pope, even if they had to set up a Pope specially for the purpose.

The power of the Pope rested not on armed hosts nor on wide lands, but on divine right and on authority over men's souls. Whether we believe in the logic of the Pontifical claims or not, there can be no doubt of the immense power of the Popes and the exalted position which they attained with regard to other sovereigns. They dispensed crowns to monarchs, they arbitrated disputes, they put down one and raised up another, they apportioned territory to kings. It was by the Bull of Alexander VI. that nearly all the newly discovered Western Hemisphere was divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. To this day, Kings still proudly bear titles which were conferred by the Popes, and which indicate the subordination of the secular power to the spiritual authority of the Holy See. The King of Spain is still "His Catholic Majesty," the King of Portugal is "His Most Faithful Majesty," the Emperor of Austria is "His Apostolic Majesty." "His Most Christian Majesty" of France and "His Orthodox Majesty" of Poland have ceased to be, but the King of England still claims to be the "Defender of the Faith."

While bestowing these titles upon others as a mark of the favor of the Church, the Pope reserved for himself a modest yet proud qualification, "*Servus Servorum Dei*," "Servant of the Servants of God."

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The power of the Holy See over men's souls has been more durable than its power over their bodies. At the present day, the Pope no longer claims the right to direct the temporal affairs of the world. He no longer claims to be Lord Paramount of the kings of the earth in temporal matters. He no longer pretends to depose princes nor to absolve subjects from their allegiance, but he is still one of the most powerful political personages in the world. His loss of territory has necessarily entailed certain changes. He cannot make war, for obvious reasons. Even if he should attempt to make war with his small band of faithful soldiers, it is doubtful whether the Powers would regard it as a legal war. He does not enter into treaties as between state and state, but he concludes with Governments agreements which are known as Concordats. He was also debarred from taking part in the Tzar's Peace Conference, on account of the fact that the Holy See is not a temporal state. The loss of the temporal possessions has in some ways, however, added to the dignity and authority of the Pope. His power, relieved from temporal localization, has increased throughout Christendom. His influence touches all countries. For an illustration, one has but to look at Spain, where for years Carlist agitation has been kept down and the dynasty of Alphonso has been upheld, largely through the influence of the late Pontiff.

As Monsieur Rivier remarks in his great work on International Law: "If the successor of Gregory and of Innocent is not to-day the monarch of monarchs, the dispenser of crowns, the distributer of continents and oceans, he still personifies the greatest moral force of the world."

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

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AMERICAN COURTS-MARTIAL.

BY WILBUR LARREMORE.

THE adverse criticism upon American Courts-Martial, if not constant, is at least periodical and systematic. The sentiment of lawyers toward the methods of military justice is frankly contemptuous. It is doubtful whether Courts-Martial do not contribute more largely to the stock anecdotes of professional derision than even the courts held by bucolic Justices of the Peace. When one member of the bar cites the instance of a farmer Judge deciding a point of law in a civil case upon the authority of Cushing's "Manual of Parliamentary Procedure," another may retort with an authentic ruling by a Court-Martial that, though hearsay evidence is incompetent, hearsay based upon hearsay, that is a story that has passed through two mouths instead of one, is entirely unobjectionable. Nor is the attitude of members of the bar one merely of superficial jocosity; they are seriously convinced that the system itself is unscientific, and that, when justice is done, it is in spite of defective method and grievous obstacles. The sentiment of the laity quite substantially concurs with that of the bar.

Singularly enough, at first sight, the class who seem least concerned by scientific imperfections is the very class practically affected—members of the Army and Navy themselves. The general acquiescence of military officers in the antiquated features of judicial inquiry would seem to indicate an unjudicial habit of mind which goes far to account for the vagaries committed by Courts-Martial in practice. One result of a military education is to breed a special temperament, marked primarily by reverence for authority, and, secondarily, by a strong feeling of caste. Naturally, men of the military habit of mind acquiesce without question in the authority of existing law, as

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well as in that of superior officers. The sense of caste causes members of the service to cling to the institution of trial by a body of what they consider their peers. This sentiment has a legitimate basis in utility, and it is not my purpose to advocate the abolition of trial of military men by military officers. That the service itself is not strenuously concerned in any proposed change is no reason why criticism from outside should be condemned as officious or impertinent. Such a view would discountenance the spirit of missionary reform the world over in all departments. It is believed that, with some important but not subversive modifications, the system of Courts-Martial might be made sufficiently scientific, while retaining its distinctive and valuable features.

The unscientific character of the present system principally results from the concatenation of functions imposed upon a judicial Pooh-Bah, known as the "judge-advocate." The very title of the officer is balefully significant. The scientific method, as applied to jurisprudence, as well as in other fields, consists simply of abstract generalization from large numbers of observations of particular cases. A universally conceded conclusion which has been reached by that method is, that no man may safely be trusted to act both as judge and advocate. Even though no motive of direct personal gain exist, there are the considerations of pride of opinion and inevitable emotional championship of a cause which may have been espoused merely through force of circumstances. In the determination of criminal controversies in the regular law courts, a factor that is constantly arising is the intemperate advocacy of the public prosecutor. Many convictions are reversed by the civil courts every year because of the possibility of injustice flowing from a district attorney's blind zeal to carry his point. Theoretically, a public prosecutor is a quasi-judicial officer; he is expected not unduly to press for a conviction if the fact of guilt be doubtful. Actually, he becomes a strong partisan; and, in spite of the fact that the trial is presided over by an independent judicial officer, he often hounds the prisoner with such narrowness of vision and bitterness of invective that appellate tribunals are forced to undo the result of his work.

Under our American system, the authority appointing a Court-Martial designates the place for holding the court, the hour of meeting, the members of the court, and a judge-advocate. It is

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enacted that the judge-advocate "shall prosecute in the name of the United States, but when the prisoner has made his plea he shall so far consider himself counsel for the prisoner as to object to any leading questions to any of the witnesses, and to any question to the prisoner, the answer to which might tend to criminate himself." It is also laid down that, while the court is in open session, "the judge-advocate shall respectfully call the attention of the court to any irregularities in its proceedings. He should act as legal adviser of the court so far as to give his opinions upon any point of law arising during the trial, when it is asked by the court, but not otherwise." The judge-advocate is thus made the really responsible legal factor of military trials, and, to add to the anomaly of the situation, he is not required by law to be a lawyer by profession, nor are any qualifications of legal knowledge prescribed. In practice, the persons designated as judge-advocates, at least for important Courts-Martial, are usually officers of some legal attainments and of experience in the conduct of trials. Nevertheless, some of the most delicious legal solecisms in circulation consist of opinions given by judge-advocates which became the foundation of rulings by military courts. The section of the Articles of War above quoted makes it the duty of a judge-advocate to object in the prisoner's behalf to leading questions. We venture to say that many gallant soldiers have officiated as judge-advocates who had not the remotest idea what a leading question was. It may be remarked incidentally that the provision itself is unwise and inadequate. Much more important would it have been to provide for the exclusion of "hearsay" evidence. Leading questions—questions whose form suggests the answer expected--are not absolutely barred in civil trials. They are commonly made use of to bring out facts as to which there is no dispute, and the allowance or exclusion of them rests in the discretion of the court. "Hearsay," on the contrary, is rigidly barred. Trial by "hearsay" would be equivalent to trial by common rumor or village gossip. Perhaps there is no single rule quite so essential for the administration of justice as that which confines a witness to original evidence derived from his own observation and knowledge.

The responsible judicial officer should be placed upon the bench and should be entirely freed from the entanglements of advocacy. In the German system, civilian judges sit with the officers as part

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of a Court-Martial. The writer believes that our American system can best be reformed by taking a leaf out of the German book. In the comparatively recent German case of Sergeants Marten and Hickel, the civilian members of the court did effective service in preventing the railroading of probably innocent men to their death. The arbitrary disposition of the military members of that court, in conjunction with the attitude of the French court in the Dreyfus case, ought to furnish an object-lesson to the entire world of the danger of trusting the administration of justice to the spirit of militarism. This spirit is apt to work injustice in favor of, as well as against, accused persons. As to many American Courts-Martial during the past few years, the bar and the public have concluded that palpably guilty men had been whitewashed. An indulgent professional sympathy crops out, especially in trials for offences not primarily against the service itself, such as financial irregularity or cruelty to prisoners or barbarous combatants. The difficulty is that a Court-Martial is too sensitive to caste sentiment, whichever way it happens to set. Abstract justice would be promoted by the presence of at least one trained lawyer on every military tribunal. The administration of justice is a science. It is fatuous in the extreme to conclude that military trials may safely be conducted without some infusion of the exact scientific spirit.

Our law should be amended so as to provide for the creation of a board of military judges to be appointed by the President. Membership of the bar of from five to ten years should be a condition of eligibility, and it might be wise to have them attached and primarily responsible to the Department of Justice, rather than to that of War. When a Court-Martial is appointed, one of these judges should be designated as its presiding officer, and he should have the sole right of ruling upon questions of the admissibility of evidence. It would be well to have the other members of the court continue to consist of military officers, but it would also be expedient to have the civilian member join in their deliberations and entitled to one vote on the judgment to be rendered. His participation in the conference would tend to prevent illogical and inconsistent action, and the position he took would be a guide to the Secretary of War, or the President, in reviewing the judgment. The proposed reform is scientific, as in jurisprudence and juridical methods successful reforms have ever

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been evolutionary and not revolutionary. The scheme in view would preserve the essential features of the present combination judge-and-jury system, while introducing a scientific policy which now is lacking. Combination judge-and-jury tribunals exist as features of our civil judicature. Causes in equity are tried both as to fact and law by a single judge. Many cases both in law and equity are so tried by one or more referees. The feature of trial by one's peers would remain, and on most of the questions coming before military courts, and especially on issues of alleged conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, a verdict by persons trained in military practice and tradition is desirable. The writer would strenuously oppose the entire abolition of military members and the creation of purely civilian tribunals, nor does he believe that a separate military Court of Appeal is necessary, both of which propositions have been advocated with considerable force. (In England, judgments of Courts-Martial are reviewed by the Judge-Advocate-General of the Army as criminal cases in the law courts are reviewed by the Home Secretary.) The office of advocate for the prosecution should be continued, but it should be shorn of its judicial features, and probably it would be well to prescribe for such officers some qualifications of legal education and experience. The accused should be permitted to be represented by any counsel, civilian or military, he may choose, and provision should be made for assigning him counsel, if he have none, in the discretion of the court.

The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, 1899, contained a communication by Mr. Earl M. Cranston on "The Existing Court-Martial System," which pointed out some of the evils here treated of, and, among other things, contended that the existing right of challenge should be extended. So far as our observation goes, no serious injustice has resulted on this score. It will be remembered that, upon the convening of the Schley Court of Inquiry, one of its members was successfully challenged for bias and compelled by his fellow members to retire, whereupon an acceptable substitute was appointed. It would, however, be entirely proper to provide for challenge of designated members of a Court-Martial, or of Inquiry, directly to the appointing power and before the court meets. If the hearing and determination of challenges be restricted to the court itself, there is the possibility—experience does not disclose a probability—of having to appeal to

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a tribunal all of whose members are biased, and therefore predisposed to stand by one another. There are other minor features of reform which might well be considered if the system of military courts were subjected to a general overhauling. The present discussion is substantially confined to what are deemed crucial defects.

To the proposition above detailed for a military tribunal presided over by a civilian judge, two objections may be suggested and answered. First, it might be feared that the civilian president would morally overawe his associates and virtually constitute a court sole. The experiences even of civil justice tend to show that such apprehension is groundless. The writer has been informed by two judges of courts of general civil jurisdiction, each of them of large experience in conducting jury trials, that jurors are apt to resent any attempt at influence by the trial judge. They accept the law of a case from the bench without demur; but, realizing that the determination of the facts is their province, they wish to discharge their duty without moral coercion. A biased charge by a judge often leads at least to a disagreement in a case where the jurors would unanimously have taken the judge's view of the merits if he had kept his hands off. The situation is different in England, where juries notoriously are clay in the hands of the judicial potter. But there is no doubt that the spirit of democratic independence to a large extent dominates the American jury-box. Cases, indeed, are not so very rare in which an ultra-conscientious juror will protest and even refuse to be recorded when a judge directs a verdict as matter of law—a purely technical form of procedure, for which the jury has no actual responsibility whatsoever. If this be the disposition of ordinary laymen, how much more independent would be a board of experts passing upon questions in their particular department of expertism! Not only would they be quick to resist any infringement of their professional prerogative and personal dignity, but, in the very nature of things, their expert judgment would have to be the substantially controlling factor. It is inconceivable that the presence of a lawyer as a member of the Schley Court of Inquiry could have rendered the results of its deliberations anything but essentially expert verdicts on purely naval questions. Such an addition to the court, however, probably would have avoided much uncertainty and confusion on matters of evidence

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which arose at the beginning of and indeed throughout the trial. A civilian with legal training might also have prevailed upon the revered and beloved Admiral of the Navy to abstain from expression of an opinion upon a matter which was not referred to the court, and as to which all evidence had been sedulously excluded.

The second objection may be indicated by the reply of an official of high military standing, to whom the proposition was submitted in conversation: "It is absolutely necessary for the preservation of discipline that a deserter shall be shot the next morning at sunrise." This attitude of mind furnishes the key to the standing reproach that "Courts-Martial are organized to convict." If an alleged deserter is to be shot anyhow the next morning, it is far better that it be done without a farcical form of judicial investigation. The necessity for headlong haste certainly does not exist in time of peace. Justice deliberately and certainly rendered is more impressive as an example than official murder based on half-digested hearsay and appearances. It is further submitted that experience does not suggest the need of great precipitancy even in time of war. In the war of the Rebellion, the armies of the North contained many men halting between two loyalties, and thousands of drafted men and substitutes for hire. These improvised armies, moreover, were without the military traditions and inurement to danger possessed by regulars. In spite of these facts, and of the further circumstance that quite early it became known that President Lincoln was disposed to pardon practically every deserter within reach of a telegraph wire, at no time was any army or division threatened with anything like serious decimation. It is precisely when the need of haste is represented as greatest that most horrid injustice is apt to be done by a "drum-head" court. On the other hand, it would be perfectly feasible to have military judges present at the scene of hostilities to conduct trials of offenders, and see to it that the essential principles of scientific justice were administered before they were condemned. It could be provided by law for the increase of judges in time of war by temporary appointment.

The North American Review for May, 1899, contained a valuable article on "Courts-Martial in England and America," by the Rt. Hon. Sir F. H. Jeune, Judge-Advocate-General of the British Army, which was called forth by and is in part a reply to the article of Mr. Cranston above referred to. It is shown that

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the British system in many respects is similar to our own; but there are important points of difference. For example, the learned English Judge-Advocate-General remarks:

"Mr. Cranston has very properly pointed out that the presence of a Judge Advocate, to some extent, meets his objection of the want of legal training in the military members of the Court; but he adds that there is a risk of the Judge Advocate's ceasing to be sufficiently impartial if he also acts as prosecutor. In this last opinion I certainly concur, and I venture to hope that those responsible for the law of American Courts-Martial will not hesitate to profit by our experience, because with us there is a Prosecutor, generally the Adjutant of the regiment, independent of the Judge Advocate. The Judge Advocate acts very much as the Attorney-General acts in peerage cases in the House of Lords. He states his view of legal points, and if necessary he sums up the case, pointing out the issues and the evidence relating to them, but he leaves it to the tribunal to decide."

The fact that the functions of advocate and judge have practically been separated in England is a strong argument for at least that measure of reform here. But, if a change be made, we see no good reason why it should not be carried to logical completion by placing the real arbiter of legal points on the bench. For reasons above set forth, we are unable to share Sir Francis Jeune's apprehension that the military members of an American court would leave the facts as well as the law to the determination of the civilian judge. He contends, furthermore, that British officers as a class are sufficiently versed in the law of evidence and law in general to discharge the judicial function. However this may be, experience amply demonstrates that American officers are not capable of conducting military trials to the approval of scientific jurists, or even to popular satisfaction. It seems altogether probable that the existing British system represents a modification of the original type of Court-Martial to conform by analogy to British civil institutions. It is submitted that the plan of reform outlined in this article would modify the same original type in a manner similarly agreeable by analogy to the juridical ideals and standards of the United States.

WILBUR LARREMORE.

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THE AMBASSADORS.

BY HENRY JAMES.

PART X.

XXV.

STRETHER occupied beside little Bilham, three evenings after his interview with Mamie Pocock, the same deep divan they had enjoyed together on the first occasion of our friend's meeting Mme. de Vionnet and her daughter in the apartment of the Boulevard Malesherbes, where his position affirmed itself again as ministering to an easy exchange of impressions. The present evening had a different stamp; if the company was much more numerous, so, inevitably, were the ideas set in motion. It was on the other hand, however, now strongly marked that the talkers moved, in respect to such matters, round an inner, a protected circle. They knew, at any rate, what really concerned them to-night, and Strether had begun by keeping his companion close to it. Only a few of Chad's guests had dined—that is fifteen or twenty, a few compared with the large concourse offered to sight by eleven o'clock; but number and mass, quantity and quality, light, fragrance, sound, the overflow of hospitality meeting the high tide of response, had all, from the first, pressed upon Strether's consciousness, and he knew himself to be somehow part and parcel of the most festive scene, as the term was, in which he had ever in his life been engaged. He had perhaps seen, on Fourths of July and on dear old domestic Commencements, more people assembled, but he had never seen so many in proportion to the space, or had at all events never known so great a promiscuity to show so markedly as picked. Numerous as was the company, it had still been made so by selection, and what was above all rare for Strether was that, by no fault of his own, he was in the secret of the principle that had worked. He had not inquired, he had averted his head, but Chad had put him a pair of questions that themhe had replied that they were the young man's own affair; and he selves smoothed the ground. He had not answered the questions, had then seen perfectly that the latter's direction was already settled.

Chad had applied for counsel only by way of intimating that he knew what to do; and he had clearly never known it better than in

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now presenting to his sister the whole circle of his society. This was all in the sense and the spirit of the note struck by him on that lady's arrival; he had taken at the station itself a line that led him without a break, and that enabled him to lead the Pococks—though dazed a little, no doubt, breathless, no doubt, and bewildered—to the uttermost end of the passage accepted by them perforce as pleasant. He had made it, for them, violently pleasant and mercilessly full; the upshot of which was, to Strether's vision, that they had come all the way without discovering that it was really no passage at all. It was a brave blind alley, where to pass was impossible, and where, unless they stuck fast, they would have—which was always awkward—publicly to back out. They were touching bottom, assuredly, to-night; the whole scene represented the terminus of the *cul-de-sac*. So could things go when there was a hand to keep them consistent—a hand that pulled the wire with a skill at which the elder man more and more marvelled. The elder man felt responsible, but he also felt successful, for what had taken place was simply the issue of his own contention, six months before, that they properly should wait to see what their friends would have really to say. He had determined Chad to wait, he had determined him to see; he was therefore not to quarrel with the time given up to the business. As much as ever, accordingly, now that a fortnight had elapsed, the situation created for Sarah, and against which she had raised no protest, was that of her having accommodated herself to her adventure as to a pleasure-party surrendered perhaps even somewhat in excess to bustle and to "pace." If her brother had been at any point the least bit open to criticism it might have been on the ground of his spicing the draught too highly and pouring the cup too full. Frankly treating the whole occasion of the presence of his relatives as an opportunity for amusement, he left it, no doubt, but scant margin as an opportunity for anything else. He suggested, invented, abounded—yet all the while with the loosest, easiest rein. Strether, during his own weeks, had gained a sense of knowing Paris; but he saw it afresh, and with fresh emotion, in the form of the knowledge offered to his colleague.

A thousand unuttered thoughts hummed for him in the air of these observations: not the least frequent of which was that Sarah might well, of a truth, not quite know whither she was drifting. She was in no position not to appear to expect that Chad should treat her handsomely; yet she struck our friend as privately stiffening a little each time she missed the chance of marking the great *nuance*. The great *nuance* was, in brief, that of course her brother must treat her handsomely—she should like to see him not; but that treating her handsomely, none the less, wasn't all in all—treating her handsomely buttered no parsnips; and that in fine there were moments when she felt the fixed eyes of their admirable absent mother fairly screw into the flat of her back. Strether, watching, after his habit, and overscoring with thought, positively had moments of his own in

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which he found himself sorry for her—occasions on which she affected him as a person seated in a runaway vehicle and turning over the question of a possible jump. *Would* she jump, could she, would *that* be a safe place?—this question, at such instants, sat for him in her lapse into pallor, her tight lips, her conscious eyes. It came back to the main point at issue: would she be, after all, to be squared? He believed, on the whole, she would jump; yet his alternations on this subject were the more especial stuff of his suspense. One thing remained well before him—a conviction that was in fact to gain sharpness from the impressions of this evening: that if she *should* gather in her skirts, close her eyes and quit the carriage while in motion, he would promptly enough become aware. She would alight from her headlong course more or less directly upon him; it would be appointed to him, unquestionably, to receive her entire weight. Signs and portents of the experience thus in reserve for him had, as it happened, multiplied even through the dazzle of Chad's party. It was partly under the nervous consciousness of such a prospect that, leaving almost every one in the two other rooms, leaving those of the guests already known to him as well as a mass of brilliant strangers of both sexes and of several varieties of speech, he had desired five quiet minutes with little Bilham, whom he always found soothing and even, a little, inspiring, and to whom he had actually, moreover, something distinct and important to say.

He had felt of old—for it already seemed long ago—rather humiliated at finding that he could learn in talk with a personage so much his junior the lesson of a certain moral ease; but he had now got used to that—whether or no the mixture of the fact with other humiliations had made it indistinct, whether or no directly from little Bilham's example, the example of his being contentedly just the obscure and acute little Bilham he was. It worked so for him, Strether seemed to see; and our friend had, at private hours, a wan smile over the fact that he himself, after so many more years, was still in search of something that would work. However, as we have said, it worked just now for them equally to have found a corner a little apart. What particularly kept it apart was the circumstance that the music in the salon was admirable, with two or three such singers as it was a privilege to hear in private. Their presence gave a distinction to Chad's entertainment, and the interest of calculating their effect on Sarah was actually so sharp as to be almost painful. Unmistakably, in her single person, the motive of the composition and dressed in a splendor of crimson which affected Strether as a fall through a skylight, she would now be in the forefront of the listening circle and committed by it up to her eyes. Those eyes during the wonderful dinner itself he had not once met; having confessedly—perhaps a little pusillanimously—arranged with Chad that he should be on the same side of the table. But there was no use in having arrived now with little Bilham at an unprecedented point of intimacy unless he could pitch everything into the pot. "You who

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sat where you could see her, what does she make of it all? By which I mean on what terms does she take it?"

"Oh, she takes it, I judge, as proving that the claim of his family is more than ever justified."

"She isn't then pleased with what he has to show?"

"On the contrary; she's pleased with it as with his capacity to do this kind of thing—more than she has been pleased with anything for a long time. But she wants him to show it *there*. He has no right to waste it on the likes of us."

Strether wondered. "She wants him to move the whole thing over?"

"The whole thing—with an important exception. Everything he has 'picked up'—and the way he knows how. She sees no difficulty in that. She'd run the show herself, and she'll make the handsome concession that Woollett would be, on the whole, in some ways the better for it. Not that it wouldn't be also, in some ways, the better for Woollett. The people there are just as good."

"Just as good as you and these others? Ah, that may be. But such an occasion as this, whether or no," Strether said, "isn't the people. It's what has made the people possible."

"Well then," his friend replied, "there you are. I give you my impression for what it's worth. Mrs. Pocock has *seen;* and that's to-night how she sits there. If you were to have a glimpse of her face, you'd understand me. She has made up her mind—to the sound of expensive music."

Strether took it smoothly in. "Ah then, I shall have news of her."

"I don't want to frighten you, but I think that likely. However," little Bilham continued, "if I'm of the least use to you to hold on by—!"

"You're not of the least!"—and Strether laid an appreciative hand on him to say it. "No one's of the least." With which to mark how gayly he could take it, he patted his companion's knee. "I must meet my fate alone, and I *shall*—oh, you'll see! And yet," he pursued the next moment, "you *can* help me too. You once said to me"—he followed this further—"that you held Chad should marry. I didn't see then so well as I know now that you meant he should marry Miss Pocock. Do you still consider that he should? Because if you do"—he kept it up—"I want you immediately to change your mind. You can help me that way."

"Help you by thinking he should *not* marry?"

"Not marry at all events Mamie."

"And who then?"

"Ah," Strether returned, "that I'm not obliged to say. But Mme. de Vionnet—I suggest—when he can."

"Oh!" said little Bilham with some sharpness.

"Oh, precisely! But he needn't marry at all—I'm at any rate not obliged to provide for it. Whereas in your case I rather feel that I *am*."

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Little Bilham was amused. "Obliged to provide for my marrying?"

"Yes—after all I've done to you!"

The young man weighed it. "Have you done as much as that?"

"Well," said Strether, thus challenged, "of course I must remember what you've also done to *me*. We may perhaps call it square. But, all the same," he went on, "I wish awfully you'd marry Mamie Pocock yourself."

Little Bilham laughed out. "Why, it was only the other night, in this very place, that you were proposing to me a different union altogether."

"Mlle. de Vionnet?" Well, Strether easily confessed it. "That I admit, was a vain image. *This* is practical politics. I want to do something good for both of you—I wish you each so well; and you can see in a moment the trouble it will save me to polish you off by the same stroke. She likes you, you know. You console her. And she's splendid."

Little Bilham stared as a delicate appetite stares at an overheaped plate. "What do I console her for?"

It just made his friend impatient. "Oh come, you know!"

"And what proves for you that she likes me?"

"Why, the fact that I found her, three days ago, stopping at home alone all the golden afternoon on the mere chance that you would come to her, and hanging over her balcony on that of seeing your cab drive up. I don't know what you want more."

Little Bilham after a moment found it. "Only just to know what proves to you that I like *her*."

"Oh, if what I've just mentioned isn't enough to make you do it, you're a stony-hearted little fiend. Besides"—Strether encouraged his fancy's flight—"you showed your inclination in the way you kept her waiting, kept her on purpose to see if she cared enough for you."

His companion paid his ingenuity the deference of a pause. "I didn't keep her waiting. I came at the hour. I wouldn't have kept her waiting for the world," the young man honorably declared.

"Better still—then there you are!" And Strether, charmed, held him the faster. "Even if you didn't do her justice, moreover," he continued, "I should insist on your immediately coming round to it. I want awfully to have worked it. I want"—and our friend spoke now with a yearning that was really earnest—"at least to have done *that*."

"To have married me off—without a penny?"

"Well, I sha'n't live long; and I give you my word, now and here, that I'll leave you every penny of my own. I haven't many, unfortunately, but you shall have them all. And Miss Pocock, I think, has a few. I want," Strether went on, "to have been at least to that extent constructive—even expiatory. I've been sacrificing so to strange gods that I feel I want to put on record, somehow, my

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fidelity—fundamentally unchanged, after all—to our own. I feel as if my hands were embrued with the blood of monstrous alien altars—of another faith altogether. There it is—it's done." And then he further explained. "It took hold of me because the idea of getting her quite out of the way for Chad helps to clear my ground."

The young man, at this, bounced about, and it brought them face to face in admitted amusement. "You want me to marry as a convenience to Chad?"

"No," Strether debated—"*he* doesn't care whether you marry or not. It's as a convenience, simply, to my own plan *for* him."

"'Simply'!"—and little Bilham's concurrence was in itself a lively comment. "Thank you. But I thought," he continued, "you had exactly *no* plan 'for' him."

"Well then, call it my plan for myself—which may be well, as you say, to have none. His situation, don't you see? is reduced now to the bare facts one has to recognize. Mamie doesn't want him, and he doesn't want Mamie: so much as that these days have made clear. It's a thread we can wind up and tuck in."

But little Bilham still questioned. "*You* can—since you seem so much to want to. But why should I?"

Poor Strether thought it over, but was obliged of course to admit that his demonstration did superficially fail. "Seriously, there *is* no reason. It's my affair—I must do it alone. I've only my fantastic need of making my dose stiff."

Little Bilham wondered. "What do you call your dose?"

"Why, what I have to swallow. I want my conditions unmitigated."

He had spoken in the tone of talk for talk's sake, and yet with an obscure truth lurking in the loose folds; a circumstance presently not without its effect on his young friend. Little Bilham's eyes rested on him a moment with some intensity; then, suddenly, as if everything had cleared up, he gave a happy laugh. It seemed to say that if pretending, or even trying, or still even hoping, to be able to care for Mamie would be of use, he was all there at his service. "I'll do anything in the world for you!"

"Well," Strether smiled, "anything in the world is all I want. I don't know anything that pleased me in her more," he went on, "than the way that, on my finding her up there all alone, coming on her unawares, and feeling greatly for her being so out of it, she knocked down my tall house of cards with her instant and cheerful allusion to the next young man. It was somehow so the note I needed—her staying at home to receive him."

"It was Chad of course," said little Bilham, "who asked the next young man—I like your name for me!—to call!"

"So I supposed—all of which, thank God, is in our innocent and natural manners. But do you know," Strether asked, "if Chad knows—?" And then as his interlocutor seemed at a loss: "Why, where she has come out."

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Little Bilham, at this, met his face with a conscious look; it was as if, more than anything yet, the allusion had penetrated. "Do you know yourself?"

Strether lightly shook his head. "There I stop. Oh, odd as it may appear to you, there *are* things I don't know. I only got the sense from her of something very sharp, and yet very deep down, that she was keeping all to herself. That is, I had begun with the belief that she had kept it to herself; but face to face with her there I soon made out that there was a person with whom she would have shared it. I had thought she possibly might with *me*—but I saw then that I was only half in her confidence. When, turning to me to greet me—for she was on the balcony, and I had come in without her knowing it—she showed me she had been expecting *you* and was proportionately disappointed, I got hold of the tail of my conviction. Half an hour later I was in possession of all the rest of it. You know what has happened." He looked at his young friend hard—then he felt sure. "For all you say, you're up to your eyes. So there you are."

Little Bilham after an instant pulled half round. "I assure you she hasn't told me anything."

"Of course she hasn't. For what do you suggest that I suppose her to take you? But you've been with her every day, you've seen her freely, you've liked her greatly—I stick to that—and you've made your profit of it. You know what she has been through as well as you know that she has dined here to-night—which must have put her, by the way, through a good deal more."

The young man faced this blast; after which he pulled round the rest of the way. "I haven't in the least said she hasn't been nice to me. But she's proud."

"And quite properly. But not too proud for that."

"It's just her pride that has made her. Chad," little Bilham loyally went on, "has really been as kind to her as possible. It's awkward for a man when a girl's in love with him."

"Ah, but she isn't—now."

Little Bilham sat staring before him; then he sprang up as if his friend's penetration, recurrent and insistent, made him really, after all, too nervous. "No—she isn't now. It isn't in the least," he went on, "Chad's fault. He's really all right. I mean he would have been willing. But she came over with ideas. Those she had got at home. They had been her motive and support in joining her brother and his wife. She was to *save* our friend."

"Ah, like me, poor thing?" Strether also got to his feet.

"Exactly—she had a bad moment. It was very soon distinct to her, to pull her up, to let her down, that, alas, he was, he *is*, saved. There's nothing left for her to do."

"Not even to love him?"

"She would have loved him better as she originally believed him."

Strether wondered. "Of course one asks one's self what notion a

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little girl forms, where a young man's in question, of such a history and such a state."

"Well, this little girl saw them, no doubt, as obscure, but she saw them, practically, as wrong. The wrong, for her, *was* the obscure. Chad turns out, at any rate, right and good and disconcerting, while what she was all prepared for, primed and girded and wound up for, was to deal with him as the general opposite."

"Yet wasn't her whole point"—Strether weighed it—"that he was to be, that he *could* be, made better, redeemed?"

Little Bilham fixed it all a moment, and then, with a small headshake that diffused a tenderness: "She's too late. Too late for the miracle."

"Yes"—his companion saw enough. "Still, if the worst fault of his condition is that it may be all there for her to profit by—?"

"Oh, she doesn't want to 'profit,' in that flat way. She doesn't want to profit by another woman's work—she wants the miracle to have been her own miracle. *That's* what she's too late for."

Strether quite felt how it all fitted; yet there seemed one loose piece. "I'm bound to say, you know, that she strikes one, on these lines, as fastidious—what you call here *difficile*."

Little Bilham tossed up his chin. "Of course she's *difficile*—on any lines! What else in the world *are* our Mamies—the real, the right, ones?"

"I see, I see," our friend repeated, charmed by the responsive wisdom he had ended by so richly extracting. "Mamie is one of the real and the right."

"The very thing itself."

"And what it comes to then," Strether went on, "is that poor awful Chad is simply too good for her."

"Ah, too good was what he was after all to be; but it was she herself, and she herself only, who was to have made him so."

It hung beautifully together, but with still a loose end. "Wouldn't he do for her even if he should, after all, break—"

"With his actual influence?" Oh, little Bilham had for this inquiry the sharpest of all his controls. "How can he 'do'—on any terms whatever—when he's flagrantly spoiled?"

Strether could only meet the question with his passive, his receptive pleasure. "Well, thank goodness, *you're* not! *You* remain for her to save, and I come back, on so beautiful and full a demonstration, to my contention of just now—that of your showing distinct signs of her having already begun."

The most he could further say to himself—as his young friend turned away—was that the charge encountered for the moment no renewed denial. Little Bilham, taking his course back to the music, only shook his good-natured ears an instant, in the manner of a terrier who has got wet; while Strether relapsed into the sense—which had for him in these days most of comfort—that he was free to believe in anything that, from hour to hour, kept him going.

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He had positively motions and flutters of this conscious hour-to-hour kind, temporary surrenders to irony, to fancy, frequent instinctive snatches at the growing rose of observation, constantly stronger for him, as he felt, in scent and color, and in which he could bury his nose even to wantonness. This last resource was offered him, for that matter, in the very form of his next clear perception—the vision of a prompt meeting, in the doorway of the room, between little Bilham and brilliant Miss Barrace, who was entering as Bilham withdrew. She had apparently put him a question, to which he had replied by turning to indicate his late interlocutor; toward whom, after an interrogation further aided by a resort to that optical machinery that seemed, like her other ornaments, curious and archaic, the genial lady, suggesting more than ever, for her fellow-guest, the old French print, the historic portrait, directed herself with an intention that Strether instantly met. He knew in advance the first note she would sound, and took in, as she approached, all her need of sounding it. Nothing yet had been so "wonderful" between them as the present occasion; and it was her special sense of this quality in occasions that she was there, as she was in most places, to feed. That sense had already been so well fed by the situation about them that she had quitted the other room, forsaken the music, dropped out of the play, abandoned, in a word, the stage itself, that she might stand a minute behind the scenes with Strether and so perhaps figure as one of the famous augurs replying, behind the oracle, to the wink of the other. Seated near him presently where little Bilham had sat, she replied in truth to many things; beginning as soon as he had said to her—what he hoped he said without fatuity—"All you ladies are extraordinarily kind to me."

She played her long handle, which shifted her observation; she saw in an instant all the absences that left them free. "How can we be anything else? But isn't that exactly your plight? 'We ladies'—oh, we're nice, and you must be having enough of us! As one of us, you know, I don't know that I'm crazy about us. But Miss Gostrey, at least, to-night, has left you alone, hasn't she?" With which she again looked about as if Maria might still lurk.

"Oh yes," said Strether; "she's only sitting up for me at home." And then as this elicited from his companion her gay "Oh, oh, oh!" he explained that he meant sitting up in suspense and prayer. "We thought it on the whole better she shouldn't be present; and either way, of course, it's a terrible worry for her." He abounded in the sense of his appeal to the ladies, and they might take their choice of his doing so from humility or from pride. "Yet she inclines to believe I shall come out."

"Oh, I incline to believe too you'll come out!"—Miss Barrace, with her laugh, was not to be behind. "Only the question's about *where,* isn't it? However," she happily continued, "if it's anywhere at all it must be very far on, mustn't it? To do us justice, I think, you know," she laughed, "we do, among us all, want you

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rather far on. Yes, yes," she repeated in her quick, droll way; "we want you very, *very* far on!" After which she wished to know why he had thought it better Maria shouldn't be present.

"Oh," he replied, "it was really her own idea. I should have wished it. But she dreads responsibility."

"And isn't that a new thing for her?"

"To dread it? No doubt—no doubt. But her nerve has given way."

Miss Barrace looked at him a moment. "She has too much at stake." Then less gravely: "Mine, luckily for me, holds out."

"Luckily for me too"—Strether came back to that. "My own isn't so firm, *my* appetite for responsibility isn't so sharp, as that I haven't felt the very principle of this occasion to be 'the more the merrier.' If we *are* so merry, it's because Chad has understood so well."

"He has understood amazingly," said Miss Barrace.

"It's wonderful!"—Strether anticipated for her.

"It's wonderful!" she, to meet it, intensified; so that, face to face over it, they simply and recklessly laughed. But she presently added: "Oh, I see the principle. If one didn't, one would be lost. But when once one has got hold of it—"

"It's as simple as twice two! From the moment he had to do something—"

"A crowd"—she took him straight up—"was the only thing? Rather, rather: a rumpus of sound," she laughed, "or nothing. Mrs. Pocock's built in, or built out—whichever you call it; she's packed so tight she can't move. She's in splendid isolation"—Miss Barrace embroidered the theme.

Strether followed, but scrupulous of justice. "Yet with every one in the place successively introduced to her."

"Wonderfully—but just so that it does build her out. She's bricked up, she's buried alive!"

Strether seemed for a moment to look at it; but it brought him to a sigh. "Oh, but she's not dead! It will take more than this to kill her."

His companion had a pause that might have been for pity. "No, I can't pretend I think she's finished—or that it's for more than to-night." She remained pensive as if with the same compunction. "It's only up to her chin." Then again for the fun of it: "She can breathe."

"She can breathe!"—he echoed it in the same spirit. "And do you know," he went on, "what's really, all this time, happening to me?—through the beauty of music, the gayety of voices, the uproar, in short, of our revel and the felicity of your wit? The sound of Mrs. Pocock's respiration drowns for me, I assure you, every other. It's literally all I hear."

She focussed him with her clink of chains. "Well—!" she breathed ever so kindly.

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"Well, what?"

"She *is* free from her chin up," she mused; "and that *will* be enough for her."

"It will be enough for me!" Strether ruefully laughed. "Waymarsh has really," he then asked, "brought her to see you?"

"Yes—but that's the worst of it. I could do you no good. And yet I tried hard."

Strether wondered. "And how did you try?"

"Why, I didn't speak of you."

"I see. That was better."

"Then what would have been worse? For speaking or silent," she lightly wailed, "I somehow 'compromise.' And it has never been any one but you."

"That shows,"—he was magnanimous—"that it's something not in you, but in one's self. It's *my* fault."

She was silent a little. "No, it's Mr. Waymarsh's. It's the fault of his having brought her."

"Ah then," said Strether good-naturedly, "why *did* he bring her?"

"He couldn't afford not to."

"Oh, you were a trophy—one of the spoils of conquest? But why, in that case, since you do 'compromise'—"

"Don't I compromise *him* as well? I do compromise him as well," Miss Barrace smiled. "I compromise him as hard as I can. But for Mr. Waymarsh it isn't fatal. It's—so far as his wonderful relation with Mrs. Pocock is concerned—favorable." And then, as he still seemed slightly at sea: "The man who had succeeded with *me,* don't you see? For her to get him from me was such an added incentive."

Strether saw, but as if his path was still strewn with surprises. "It's 'from' you then that she has got him?"

She was amused at his momentary muddle. "You can fancy my fight! She believes in her triumph. I think it has been part of her joy."

"Oh, her joy!" Strether sceptically murmured.

"Well, she thinks she has had her own way. And what is to-night, for her, but a kind of apotheosis? Her frock's really good."

"Good enough to go to heaven in? For after a real apotheosis," Strether went on, "there's nothing *but* heaven. For Sarah there's only to-morrow."

"And you mean that she won't find to-morrow heavenly?"

"Well, I mean that I somehow feel to-night—on her behalf—too good to be true. She has had her cake; that is she's in the act now of having it, of swallowing the largest and sweetest piece. There won't be another left for her. Certainly *I* haven't one. It can only, at the best, be Chad." He continued to make it out as for their common entertainment. "He may have one, as it were, up his sleeve; yet it's borne in upon me that if he had—"

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"He wouldn't"—she quite understood—"have taken all *this* trouble? I dare say not, and, if I may be quite free and dreadful, I very much hope he won't take any more. Of course I won't pretend now," she added, "not to know what it's a question of."

"Oh, every one knows, I think, now," poor Strether thoughtfully admitted; "and it's strange enough and funny enough that one should feel everybody here at this very moment as knowing and watching and waiting."

"Yes—isn't it indeed funny?" Miss Barrace quite rose to it. "That's the way we *are* in Paris." She was always pleased with a new contribution to that queerness. "It's wonderful! But, you know," she declared, "it all depends on you. I don't want to turn the knife in your vitals, but that's naturally what you just now meant by our all being on top of you. We know you as the hero of the drama and we're gathered to see what you'll do."

Strether looked at her a moment with a light perhaps slightly obscured. "I think that must be why the hero has taken refuge in this corner. He's scared at his heroism—he shrinks from his part."

"Ah, but we nevertheless believe that he'll play it. That's why," Miss Barrace kindly went on, "we take such an interest in you. We feel that you'll come up to the scratch." And then as he seemed perhaps not quite to take fire: "Don't let him do it."

"Don't let Chad go?"

"Yes, keep hold of him. With all this"—and she indicated the general tribute—"he has done enough. We love him here—he's charming."

"It's beautiful," said Strether, "the way you all can simplify when you will!"

But she gave it to him back. "It's nothing to the way *you* will when you must."

He winced at it as at the very voice of prophecy, and it kept him a moment quiet. He detained her, however, on her appearing about to leave him alone in the rather cold clearance their talk had made. "There positively isn't a sign of a hero to-night; the hero's dodging and shirking, the hero's ashamed. Therefore, you know, I think, what you must all *really* be occupied with is the heroine."

Miss Barrace took a minute. "The heroine?"

"The heroine. I've treated her," said Strether, "not a bit like a hero. Oh," he sighed, "I don't do it well!"

She eased him off. "You do it as you can." And then after another hesitation: "I think she's satisfied."

But he remained compunctious. "I haven't been near her. I haven't looked at her."

"Ah then, you've lost a good deal!"

He showed that he knew it. "She's more wonderful than ever?"

"Than ever. With Mr. Pocock."

Strether wondered. "Mme. de Vionnet—with Jim?"

"Mme. de Vionnet—with 'Jim.'" Miss Barrace was historic.

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"And what is she doing with him?"

"Ah, you must ask *him!*"

Strether's face lighted again at the prospect. "It *will* be amusing to do so." Yet he continued to wonder. "But she must have some idea."

"Of course she has—she has twenty ideas. She has in the first place," said Miss Barrace, swinging a little her tortoise-shell, "that of doing her part. Her part is to help *you*."

It came out as nothing had come yet; links were missing and connections unnamed, but it was suddenly as if they were at the heart of their subject. "Yes; how much more she does it," Strether gravely reflected, "than I help *her!*" It all came over him as with the near presence of the beauty, the grace, the intense, dissimulated spirit with which he had, as he said, been putting off contact. "*She* has courage."

"Ah, she has courage!" Miss Barrace quite agreed; and it was as if, for a moment, they saw the quantity in each other's face.

But indeed the whole thing was present. "How much she must care!"

"Ah, there it is. She does care. But it isn't, is it," Miss Barrace considerately added, "as if you had ever had any doubt of that?"

Strether seemed suddenly to like to feel that he really never had. "Why, of course it's the whole point."

"*Voilà!*" Miss Barrace smiled.

"It's why one came out," Strether went on. "And it's why one has stayed so long. And it's also"—he abounded—"why one's going home. It's why, it's why—"

"It's why everything!" she concurred. "It's why she might be to-night—for all she looks and shows, and for all your friend 'Jim' does—about twenty years old. That's another of her ideas; to be, for him, and to be quite easily and charmingly, as young as a little girl."

Strether assisted at his distance. "'For him'? For Chad—?"

"For Chad, in a manner, naturally always. But in particular, to-night, for Mr. Pocock." And then as her friend still stared: "Yes, it *is* of a bravery! But that's what she has: her high sense of duty."

It was more than sufficiently before them. "When Mr. Newsome has his hands so embarrassed with his sister—"

"It's quite the least"—Strether filled it out—"that she should take his sister's husband? Certainly—quite the least. So she has taken him."

"She has taken him." It was all Miss Barrace had meant.

Still, it remained enough. "It must be funny."

"Oh, it *is* funny." That of course essentially went with it.

But it brought them back. "How indeed then she must care!" In answer to which Strether's interlocutress dropped a comprehen-

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sive "Ah!" which perhaps expressed a slight impatience at the time he took to get used to it. She herself had got used to it long before.

XXVI.

When, one morning, within the week, he perceived the whole thing to be really at last upon him, Strether's immediate feeling was all relief. He had known, this morning, that something was about to happen—known it, in a moment, by Waymarsh's manner when Waymarsh appeared before him during his brief consumption of coffee and a roll in the small, slippery *salle à manger* so associated now with rich rumination. Strether had taken there of late various lonely and absent-minded meals; he communed there, even at the end of June, with a suspected chill, the air of old shivers mixed with old savors, the air in which so many of his impressions had perversely matured; the place meanwhile renewing its message to him by the very circumstance of his single state. He now sat there, for the most part, to sigh softly, while he tilted his *carafe,* over the vision of how much better Waymarsh was occupied. That was really his success, by the common measure—to have led this companion so on and on. He remembered how, at first, there had been scarce a squatting-place he could beguile him into passing; the actual sequel to which, at last, was that there was scarce one that could arrest him in his rush. His rush—as Strether vividly and amusedly figured it—continued to be all with Sarah, and contained perhaps, moreover, the word of the whole enigma, whipped up in its fine, full-flavored froth the very principle, for good or for ill, of his own, of Strether's, outlook. It might, after all, to the end, only be that they had united to save him, and indeed, so far as Waymarsh was concerned, that *had* to be the spring of action. Strether was glad, at all events, in connection with the case, that the saving he required was not more scant; so defined a luxury was it, in certain lights, just to lurk there out of the full glare. He had moments of quite seriously wondering whether Waymarsh wouldn't, in fact, thanks to old friendship and a conceivable indulgence, make about as good terms for him as he might make for himself. They wouldn't be the same terms, of course; but they might have the advantage that he himself probably should be able to make none at all.

He was never, in the morning, very late, but Waymarsh had already been out, and, after a peep into the dim refectory, he presented himself there with much less than usual of his large looseness. He had made sure, through the expanse of glass exposed to the court, that they would be alone; and there was now in fact that about him that pretty well took up the room. He was dressed in the garments of summer; and saving that his white waistcoat was redundant and bulging, these things favored, they determined, his expression. He wore a straw hat such as his friend had not yet seen in Paris, and he showed a buttonhole freshly adorned with a magnificent rose. Strether read, on the instant, his story—how, astir for the previous

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hour, the sprinkled newness of the day, so pleasant, at that season, in Paris, he was fairly panting with the pulse of adventure and had been with Mrs. Pocock, unmistakably, to the Marché aux Fleurs. Strether really knew in this vision of him a joy that was akin to envy; so reversed, as he stood there, did their old positions seem; so comparatively doleful now showed, by the sharp turn of the wheel, the posture of the pilgrim from Woollett. He wondered, this pilgrim, if he had originally looked to Waymarsh so brave and well, so remarkably launched, as it was at present the latter's privilege to appear. He recalled that his friend had remarked to him even at Chester that his aspect belied his plea of prostration; but there certainly could not have been, for an issue, an aspect less concerned than Waymarsh's with the menace of decay. Strether had at any rate never looked like a southern planter of the great days—which was the image picturesquely suggested by the happy relation between the fuliginous face and the wide panama of his visitor. This type, it further amused him to guess, had been, on Waymarsh's part, the object of Sarah's care; he was convinced that her taste had not been a stranger to the conception and purchase of the hat, any more than her fine fingers had been guiltless of the bestowal of the rose. It came to him in the current of thought, as things so oddly did come, that *he* had never risen with the lark to attend a brilliant woman to the Marché aux Fleurs; that could be fastened on him in connection neither with Miss Gostrey nor with Mme. de Vionnet; the practice of getting up early for adventures could indeed in no manner be fastened on him. It came to him in fact that just here was his usual case: he was forever missing things through his general genius for missing them, while others were forever picking them up through a contrary bent. And it was others who looked abstemious and he who looked greedy; it was he, somehow, who finally paid, and it was others who mainly partook. Yes, he should go to the scaffold yet for he wouldn't know quite whom. He almost, for that matter, felt on the scaffold now, and really quite enjoying it. It worked out as *because* he was anxious there—it worked out as for this reason that Waymarsh was so blooming. It was *his* trip for health, for a change, that proved the success—which was just what Strether, planning and exerting himself, had desired it should be. That truth already sat full-blown on his companion's lips; benevolence breathed from them as with the warmth of active exercise, and also, a little, as with the bustle of haste.

"Mrs. Pocock, whom I left a quarter of an hour ago at her hotel, has asked me to mention to you that she would like to find you at home here in about another hour. She wants to see you; she has something to say—or considers, I believe, that you may have: so that I asked her myself why she shouldn't come right round. She hasn't *been* round yet—to see our place; and I took upon myself to say that I was sure you'd be glad to have her. The thing's therefore, you see, to keep right here till she comes."

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The announcement was sociably, even though, after Waymarsh's wont, somewhat solemnly made; but Strether quickly felt other things in it than these light features. It was the first approach to a meaning; it quickened his pulse; it simply meant at last that he should have but himself to thank if he didn't know where he was. He had finished his breakfast; he pushed it away and was on his feet. There were plenty of elements of surprise, but only one of doubt. "The thing's for *you* to keep here too?"

Waymarsh had been slightly ambiguous.

He wasn't ambiguous, however, after this inquiry; and Strether's understanding had probably never before opened so wide and effective a mouth as it was to open during the next five minutes. It was no part of his friend's wish, as appeared, to help to receive Mrs. Pocock; he quite understood the spirit in which she was to present herself, but his connection with her visit was limited to his having—well, as he might say—perhaps a little promoted it. He had thought, and had let her know it, that Strether possibly would think she might have been round before. At any rate, as turned out, she had been wanting herself, quite a while, to come. "I told her," said Waymarsh, "that it would have been a bright idea if she had only carried it out before."

Strether declared that it was so bright as to be almost dazzling. "But why *hasn't* she carried it out before? She has seen me every day—she had only to name her hour. I've been waiting and waiting."

"Well, I told her you had. And she has been waiting too." It was, in the oddest way in the world, on the showing of this tone, a bright, new, cheerful, pressing, coaxing Waymarsh; a Waymarsh conscious with a different consciousness from any he had yet betrayed, and actually rendered by it almost insinuating. He lacked only time for full persuasion, and Strether was to see in a moment why. Meantime, however, our friend perceived, he was announcing a step of some magnanimity on Mrs. Pocock's part, so that he could deprecate a sharp question. It was his own high purpose in fact to have smoothed sharp questions to rest. He looked his old comrade very straight in the eyes, and he had never conveyed to him in so mute a manner so much kind confidence and so much good advice. Everything that was between them was again in his face, but matured and shelved and finally disposed of. "At any rate," he added, "she's coming now."

Considering how many pieces had to fit themselves, it all fell, in Strether's brain into a close, rapid order. He saw on the spot what had happened, and what probably would yet; and it was all funny enough. It was perhaps just this freedom of appreciation that wound him up to his flare of high spirits. "What is she coming *for*?—to kill me?"

"She's coming to be very, *very* kind to you, and you must let me say that I greatly hope you'll not be less so to herself."

. . . .

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This was spoken by Waymarsh with much gravity of admonition, and as Strether stood there he knew he had but to make a movement to take the attitude of a man gracefully receiving a present. The present was that of the opportunity dear old Waymarsh had flattered himself he had divined in him the slight soreness of not having yet thoroughly enjoyed; so he had brought it to him thus, as on a little silver breakfast-tray, familiarly though delicately—without oppressive pomp; and he was to bend and smile and acknowledge, was to take and use and be grateful. He was not—that was the beauty of it—to be asked to deflect too much from his dignity. No wonder the old boy bloomed in this bland air of his own distillation. Strether felt for a moment as if Sarah were actually walking up and down outside. Wasn't she hanging about the porte-cochère while her friend thus summarily opened a way? Strether would meet her but to take it, and everything would be for the best in the best of possible worlds. He had never so much known what any one meant as, in the light of this demonstration, he knew what Mrs. Newsome did. It had reached Waymarsh from Sarah, but it had reached Sarah from her mother, and there was no break in the chain by which it reached *him*. "Has anything particular happened," he asked after a minute—"so suddenly to determine her? Has she heard anything unexpected from home?"

Waymarsh, on this, it seemed to him, looked at him harder than ever. "'Unexpected'?" He had a brief hesitation; then, however, he was firm: "We're leaving Paris."

"Leaving? That *is* sudden."

Waymarsh showed a different opinion. "Less so than it may seem. The purpose of Mrs. Pocock's visit is to explain to you in fact that it's *not*."

Strether didn't at all know if he had really an advantage—anything that would practically count as one; but he enjoyed for the moment—as for the first time in his life—the sense of so carrying it off. He wondered—it was amusing—if he felt as the impudent feel. "I shall take great pleasure, I assure you, in any explanation. I shall be delighted to receive Sarah."

The sombre glow just darkened in his comrade's eyes; but he was struck with the way it died out again. It was too mixed with another consciousness—it was too smothered, as might be said, in flowers. He really, for the time, regretted it—poor dear old sombre glow! Something straight and simple, something heavy and empty, had been eclipsed in its company; something by which he had best known his friend. Waymarsh wouldn't *be* his friend, somehow, without the occasional ornament of the sacred rage, and the right to the sacred rage—inestimably precious for Strether's charity—he also seemed in a manner, and at Mrs. Pocock's elbow, to have forfeited. Strether remembered the occasion, early in their stay, when, on that very spot, he had come out with his earnest, his ominous "Quit!"—and, so remembering, felt it hang by a hair that he didn't

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himself now utter the same note. Waymarsh was having a good time—that was the truth that was embarrassing for him, and he was having it then and there, he was having it in Europe, he was having it under the very protection of circumstances of which he didn't in the least approve; all of which placed him in a false position, with no issue possible—none, at least, by the grand manner. It was practically in the manner of any one—it was all but in poor Strether's own—that, instead of taking anything up, he merely made the most of having to be himself explanatory. "I'm not leaving for the United States direct. Mr. and Mrs. Pocock and Miss Mamie are thinking of a little trip before their own return, and we've been talking for some days past of our joining forces. We've settled it that we do join and that we sail together the end of next month. But we start to-morrow for Switzerland. Mrs. Pocock wants some scenery. She hasn't had much yet."

He was brave in his way too, keeping nothing back, confessing to all there was, and only leaving Strether to make certain connections. "Is what Mrs. Newsome has cabled her daughter an injunction to 'quit'?"

The grand manner indeed, at this, just raised its head a little. "I know *nothing* about Mrs. Newsome's cables."

Their eyes met on it with some intensity—during the few seconds of which something happened quite out of proportion to the time. It happened that Strether, looking thus at his friend, didn't take his answer for truth—and that something more again occurred in consequence of *that*. Yes—Waymarsh just *did* know about Mrs. Newsome's cables: to what other end than that had they dined together at Bignon's? Strether almost felt, for the instant, that it was to Mrs. Newsome herself the dinner had been given; and, for that matter, quite felt how she must have known about it and, as he might think, protected and consecrated it. He had a quick, blurred view of daily cables, questions, answers, signals: clear enough was his vision of the expense that, when so exalted, the lady at home was prepared to incur. Vivid not less was his memory of what, during his long observation of her, some of her exaltations had cost her. Distinctly, she was exalted now, and Waymarsh, who imagined himself standing there on his own feet, was truly but suspended in an air of her making. The whole reference of his errand seemed to mark her for Strether as by this time consentingly familiar to him and nothing yet had so despoiled her of a special shade of consideration. "You don't know," he asked, "whether Sarah has been directed from home to try me on the matter of my also going to Switzerland?"

"I know," said Waymarsh as manfully as possible, "nothing whatever about her private affairs; though I believe her to be acting in conformity with things that have my highest respect." It was as manful as possible, but it was still the small manner—as it had to be to convey so sorry a statement. He knew everything, Strether

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more and more felt, that he thus disclaimed, and his little punishment was just in this doom to a second fib. What falser position—given the man—could the most vindictive mind impose? He ended by squeezing through a passage in which, three months before, he would certainly have stuck fast. "Mrs. Pocock will probably be ready herself to answer any inquiry you may put to her. But," he continued, "*but*—" He faltered on it.

"But what? Don't put her too many?"

Waymarsh looked large, but the harm was done; he couldn't, do what he would, help looking rosy. "Don't do anything you'll be sorry for."

It was an attenuation, Strether guessed, of something else that had been on his lips; it was a sudden drop to directness, and was thereby the voice of sincerity. He had fallen to the supplicating note, and that immediately, for our friend, made a difference and reinstated him. They were in communication as they had been, that first morning, in Sarah's salon and in her presence and Mme. de Vionnet's; and the same recognition of a great good-will was again, after all, possible. Only the amount of response Waymarsh had then taken for granted was doubled, decupled now. This came out when he presently said: "Of course I needn't assure you *I* hope you'll come with us." Then it was that his implications and expectations loomed up for Strether as almost pathetically gross.

The latter patted his shoulder while he thanked him, giving the go-by to the question of joining the Pococks; he expressed the joy he felt at seeing him go forth again so brave and free, and he in fact almost took leave of him on the spot. "I shall see you again of course before you go; but I'm meanwhile much obliged to you for arranging so conveniently for what you've told me. I shall walk up and down in the court there—dear little old court which we've each bepaced so, this last couple of months, to the tune of our flights and our drops, our hesitations and our plunges: I shall hang about there, all impatience and excitement, please let Sarah know, till she graciously presents herself. Leave me with her without fear," he laughed; "I assure you I sha'n't hurt her. I don't think either, that she'll hurt *me:* I'm in a situation in which damage was some time ago discounted. Besides, *that* isn't what worries you—but don't, don't explain! We're all right as we are: which was the degree of success our adventure was pledged to for each of us. We weren't, it seemed, all right as we were before; and we've got over the ground, all things considered, quickly. I hope you'll have a lovely time in the Alps."

Waymarsh fairly looked up at him as from the foot of them. "I don't know as I *ought* really to go."

It was the conscience of Milrose in the very voice of Milrose, but, oh, it was feeble and flat! Strether suddenly felt quite ashamed for him; he breathed a greater boldness. "*Let* yourself, on the contrary, go—in all agreeable directions. These are precious hours—

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at our age they mayn't recur. Don't have it to say to yourself at Milrose, next winter, that you hadn't courage for them." And then as his comrade queerly stared: "Live up to Mrs. Pocock."

"Live up to her?"

"You're a great help to her."

Waymarsh looked at it as at one of the uncomfortable things that were certainly true and that it was yet ironical to say. "It's more then than you are."

"That's exactly your own chance and advantage. Besides," said Strether, "I do in my way contribute. I know what I'm about."

Waymarsh had kept on his great panama, and, as he now stood nearer the door, his last look, beneath the shade of it, had turned again to darkness and warning. "So do I! See here, Strether."

"I know what you're going to say. 'Quit'?"

"Quit!" But it lacked its old intensity; nothing of it remained; it went out of the room with him.

XXVII.

Almost the first thing, strangely enough, that, about an hour later, Strether found himself doing in Sarah's presence was to remark articulately on this failure, in their friend, of what had been superficially his great distinction. It was as if—he alluded of course to the grand manner—the dear man had sacrificed it to some other advantage; which would be of course only for himself to measure. It might be simply that he was physically so much more sound than on his first coming out; this was all prosaic, comparatively cheerful and vulgar. And fortunately, if one came to that, his improvement in health was really itself grander than any manner it could be conceived as having cost him. "You yourself alone, dear Sarah" —Strether took the plunge—"have done him, it strikes me, in these three weeks, as much good as all the rest of his time together."

It was a plunge because somehow the range of reference was, in the conditions, funny, and made funnier still by Sarah's attitude, by the turn the occasion had, with her appearance, so sensibly taken. Her appearance was really indeed funnier than anything else—the spirit in which he felt her to be there as soon as she *was* there, the shade of obscurity that cleared up for him as soon as he was seated with her in the small *salon de lecture* that had, for the most part, in all the weeks, witnessed the wane of his early vivacity of discussion with Waymarsh. It was an immense thing, quite a tremendous thing, for her to have come: this truth opened out to him in spite of his having already arrived for himself at a fairly vivid view of it. He had done exactly what he had given Waymarsh his word for—had walked and re-walked the court while he awaited her advent; acquiring in this exercise an amount of light that affected him at the time as flooding the scene. She had decided upon the step in order to give him the benefit of a doubt, in order to be able to say to her mother that she had, even to abjectness,

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smoothed the way for him. The doubt had been as to whether he mightn't take her as not having smoothed it—and the admonition had possibly come from Waymarsh's more detached spirit. Waymarsh had at any rate, certainly, thrown his weight into the scale—he had pointed to the importance of depriving their friend of a grievance. She had done justice to the plea, and it was to set herself right with a high ideal that she actually sat there in her state. Her calculation was sharp in the immobility with which she held her tall parasol-stick upright and at arm's length, quite as if she had struck the place to plant her flag; in the separate precautions she took not to show as nervous; in the aggressive repose in which she did quite nothing but wait for him. Doubt ceased to be possible from the moment he had taken in that she had arrived with no proposal whatever; that her concern was simply to show what she had come to receive. She had come to receive his submission, and Waymarsh was to have made it plain to him that she would expect nothing less. He saw fifty things, her host, at this convenient stage; but one of those he most saw was that their anxious friend had not quite had the hand required of him. Waymarsh *had,* however, uttered the request that she might find him mild, and while hanging about the court before her arrival he had turned over with zeal the different ways in which he could be so. The difficulty was that if he was mild he wasn't, for her purpose, conscious. If she wished him conscious—as everything about her cried aloud that she did—she must accordingly be at costs to make him so. Conscious he *was,* for himself—but only of too many things; so she must choose the one she required.

Practically, however, it at last got itself named, and when once that had happened they were quite at the centre of their situation. One thing had really done as well as another; when Strether had spoken of Waymarsh's leaving him, and that had necessarily brought on a reference to Mrs. Pocock's similar intention, the jump was but short to supreme lucidity. Light became indeed after that so intense that Strether would doubtless have but half made out, in the prodigious glare, by which of the two the issue had been in fact precipitated. It was, in their contracted quarters, as much there between them as if it had been something suddenly spilled, with a crash and a splash, on the floor. The form of his submission was to be an engagement to acquit himself within the twenty-four hours. "He'll go in a moment if you give him the word—he assures me on his honor he'll do that:" this came in its order, out of its order, in respect to Chad, after the crash had occurred. It came repeatedly during the time taken by Strether to feel that he was even more fixed in his rigor than he had supposed—the time he was not above adding to a little by telling her that such a way of putting it on her brother's part left him sufficiently surprised. She wasn't at all funny at last—she was really fine; and he felt easily where she was strong—strong for herself. It had not yet so come home to him that

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she was nobly and appointedly officious. She was acting in interests grander and clearer than that of her poor little personal, poor little Parisian equilibrium, and all his consciousness of her mother's moral pressure profited by this proof of its sustaining force. She would be held up; she would be strengthened; he needn't in the least be anxious for her. What would, once more, have been distinct to him had he tried to make it so, was that, as Mrs. Newsome was essentially all moral pressure, the presence of this element was almost identical with her own presence. It wasn't perhaps that he felt he was dealing with her straight, but it was certainly as if she had been dealing straight with *him*. She was reaching him, somehow, by the lengthened arm of the spirit, and he was having to that extent to take her into account; but he was not reaching her in turn, not making her take *him;* he was only reaching Sarah, who appeared to take so little of him. "Something has clearly passed between you and Chad," he presently said, "that I think I ought to know something more about. Does he put it all," he smiled, "on me?"

"Did you come out," she asked, "to put it all on *him?*"

But he replied to this no further than, after an instant, by saying: "Oh, it's all right. Chad, I mean, is all right in having said to you—well anything he may have said. I'll *take* it all—what he does put on me. Only I must see him before I see you again."

She hesitated, but she brought it out. "Is it absolutely necessary you should see me again?"

"Certainly, if I'm to give you any definite word about anything."

"Is it your idea then," she returned, "that I shall keep on meeting you only to be exposed to fresh humiliation?"

He fixed her a longer time. "Are your instructions from Mrs. Newsome that you shall, even at the worst, absolutely and irretrievably break with me?"

"My instructions from Mrs. Newsome, are, if you please, my affair. You know perfectly what your own were, and you can judge for yourself of what it can do for you to have made what you have of them. You can perfectly see, at any rate, I'll go so far as to say, that if I wish not to expose myself, I must wish still less to expose *her*." She had already said more than she had quite expected; but, though she had also pulled up, the color in her face showed him he should, from one moment to the other, have it all. He now indeed felt the high importance of his having it. "What is your conduct," she broke out as if to explain—"what is your conduct but an outrage to women like *us?* I mean your acting as if there can be a doubt—as between us and such another—of his duty?"

He thought a moment. It was rather much to deal with at once; not only the question itself, but the sore abysses it revealed. "Of course they're totally different kinds of duty."

"And do you pretend that he has any at all—to such another?"

"Do you mean to Mme. de Vionnet?" He uttered the name not

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to affront her, but yet again to gain time—time that he needed for taking in something still other and larger than her demand of a moment before. It was not at once that he could see all that was in her actual challenge; but when he did he found himself just checking a low, vague sound, a sound which was perhaps the nearest approach his vocal chords had ever known to a growl. Everything Mrs. Pocock had failed to give a sign of recognizing in Chad as a particular part of a transformation—everything that had lent intention to this particular failure affected him as gathered into a large loose bundle and thrown, in her words, into his face. The missile made him to that extent catch his breath; which, however, he presently recovered. "Why, when a woman is at once so charming and so beneficent—"

"You can sacrifice mothers and sisters to her without a blush, and can make them cross the ocean on purpose to feel the more, and take from you the straighter, *how* you do it?"

Yes she had taken him up as short and as sharply as that; but he tried not to flounder in her grasp. "I don't think there's anything I've done in any such calculated way as you describe. Everything has come as a sort of indistinguishable part of everything else. Your coming out belonged closely to my having come before you, and my having come was a result of our general state of mind. Our general state of mind had proceeded, on its side, from our funny ignorance, our funny misconceptions and confusions—from which, since then, an inexorable tide of light seems to have floated us into our perhaps still funnier knowledge. Don't you *like* your brother as he is," he went on, "and haven't you given your mother an intelligible account of all that that comes to?"

It put to her also, doubtless, his own tone, too many things; this at least would have been the case had not his final challenge directly helped her. Everything, at the stage they had reached, directly helped her, because everything betrayed in him such a basis of intention. He saw—the odd way things came out!—that he would have been held less monstrous had he only been a little wilder. What exposed him was just his poor old trick of quiet inwardness, what exposed him was his *thinking* such offence. He had not in the least, however, the desire to irritate that Sarah imputed to him, and he could only at last temporize, for the moment, with her indignant view. She was altogether more irritated than he had expected, and he would probably understand this better when he should learn what had occurred for her with Chad. Till then her view of his particular blackness, her clear surprise at his not clutching the pole she held out, must pass as extravagant. "I leave you to flatter yourself," she returned, "that what you speak of is what *you've* beautifully done. When a thing has been already described in such a lovely way—!" But she caught herself up, and her comment on his description rang out sufficiently loud. "Do you consider her even an apology for a decent woman?"

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Ah, there it was at last! She put the matter more crudely than, for his own mixed purposes, he had yet had to do; but, essentially, it was all one matter. It was so much—so much; and she treated it, poor lady, as so little. He grew conscious, as he was now apt to do, of a strange smile, and the next moment he found himself talking like Miss Barrace. "She has struck me from the first as wonderful. I've been thinking too, moreover, that, after all, she would probably have represented even for yourself something rather new and rather good."

He was to have given Mrs. Pocock with this, however, but her best opportunity for a sound of derision. "Rather new? I hope so with all my heart!"

"I mean," he explained, "that she might have affected you by her exquisite amiability—a real revelation, it has seemed to myself; her high rarity, her distinction of every sort."

He had been, with these words, consciously a little "precious"; but he had had to be—he couldn't give her the truth of the case without them; and it seemed to him, moreover, now, that he didn't care. He had at all events not served his cause, for she sprang at its exposed side. "A 'revelation'—to *me:* I've to come to such a woman for a revelation? You talk to me about 'distinction'—*you,* you who've had your privilege—when the most distinguished woman we shall either of us have seen in this world sits there insulted, in her loneliness, by your incredible comparison?"

Strether forbore, with an effort, from straying; but he looked all about him. "Does your mother herself make the point that she sits insulted?"

Sarah's answer came so straight, so "pat," as might have been said, that he felt on the instant its origin. "She has confided to my judgment and my tenderness the expression of her personal sense of everything, and the assertion of her personal dignity."

They were the very words of the lady of Woollett—he would have known them in a thousand; her parting charge to her child. Mrs. Pocock, accordingly, spoke to this extent by book, and the fact immensely moved him. "If she does really feel as you say, it's of course very, very dreadful. I've given sufficient proof, one would have thought," he added, "of my deep admiration for Mrs. Newsome."

"And pray what admiration would one have thought you'd *call* sufficient? That of thinking this person here so far superior to her?"

He wondered again; he waited. "Ah, dear Sarah, you must *leave* me this person here!"

In his desire to avoid all vulgar retorts, to show how, even perversely, he clung to his rag of reason, he had softly almost wailed this plea. Yet he knew it to be perhaps the most positive declaration he had ever made in his life, and his visitor's reception of it virtually gave it that importance. "That's exactly what I'm de-

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lighted to do. God knows *we* don't want her! You take good care not to meet," she observed in a still higher key, "my question about their life. If you do consider it a thing one can even *speak* of, I congratulate you on your taste!"

The life she alluded to was of course Chad's and Mme. de Vionnet's, which she thus bracketed together in a way that made him wince a little; there being nothing for him but to take home her full intention. It was none the less his inconsequence that while he had himself been enjoying for weeks the view of the brilliant woman's specific action, he just suffered from any characterization of it by other lips. "I think tremendously well of her, at the same time that I seem to feel her 'life' to be really none of my business. It's my business, that is, only so far as Chad's own life is affected by it; and what has happened, don't you see? is that Chad's has been affected so beautifully. The proof of the pudding's in the eating" —he tried, with no great success, to help it out with a touch of pleasantry, while she let him go on as if to sink and sink. He went on, however, well enough, as well as he could do without fresh counsel; he indeed shouldn't stand quite firm, he felt, till he should have re-established his communications with Chad. Still, he could always speak for the woman he had so definitely promised to "save." This wasn't quite, for her, the air of salvation; but as that chill fairly deepened what did it become but a reminder that one might, at the worst, perish *with* her? And it was simple enough—it was rudimentary: not, not to give her away. "I find in her more merits than you would probably have patience with my counting over. And do you know," he inquired, "the effect you produce on me by alluding to her in such terms? It's as if you had some motive in not recognizing all she has done for your brother, and so shut your eyes to each side of the matter, in order, whichever side comes up, to get rid of the other. I don't, you must allow me to say, see how you can with any pretence to candor get rid of the side nearest you."

"Near me—*that* sort of thing?" And Sarah gave a jerk back of her head that well might have paralyzed any active approach.

It kept her friend himself at his distance, and he respected for a moment the interval. Then, with a last persuasive effort, he bridged it. "You don't, on your honor, appreciate Chad's fortunate development?"

"Fortunate?" she echoed again. And indeed she was ready. "I call it hideous."

Her departure had been for some minutes marked as imminent, and she was already at the door that stood open to the court, from the threshold of which she delivered herself of this judgment. It rang out so loud as to produce for the time the hush of everything else. Strether quite, as an effect of it, breathed less bravely; he could acknowledge it, but simply enough. "Oh, if you think *that*—!"

"Then all's at an end? So much the better. I do think that!"

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She passed out as she spoke and took her way straight across the court, beyond which, separated from them by the deep arch of the porte-cochère, the low victoria that had conveyed her from her own hotel was drawn up. She made for it with decision, and the manner of her break, the sharp shaft of her rejoinder, had an intensity by which Strether was at first kept in arrest. She had let fly at him as from a stretched cord, and it took him a minute to recover from the sense of being pierced. It was not the penetration of surprise; it was that, much more, of certainty; his case being put for him as he had as yet only put it to himself. She was away, at any rate; she had distanced him—with rather a grand spring, an effect of pride and ease, after all; she had got into her carriage before he could overtake her, and the vehicle was already in motion. He stopped half-way; he stood there in the court only seeing her go and noting that she gave him no other look. The way he had put it to himself was that all quite *might* be at an end. Each of her movements, in this resolute rupture, reaffirmed, reinforced that idea. Sarah passed out of sight in the sunny street, while, planted there in the centre of the comparatively gray court, he continued merely to look before him. It probably *was* all at an end.

(To be Continued.)

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